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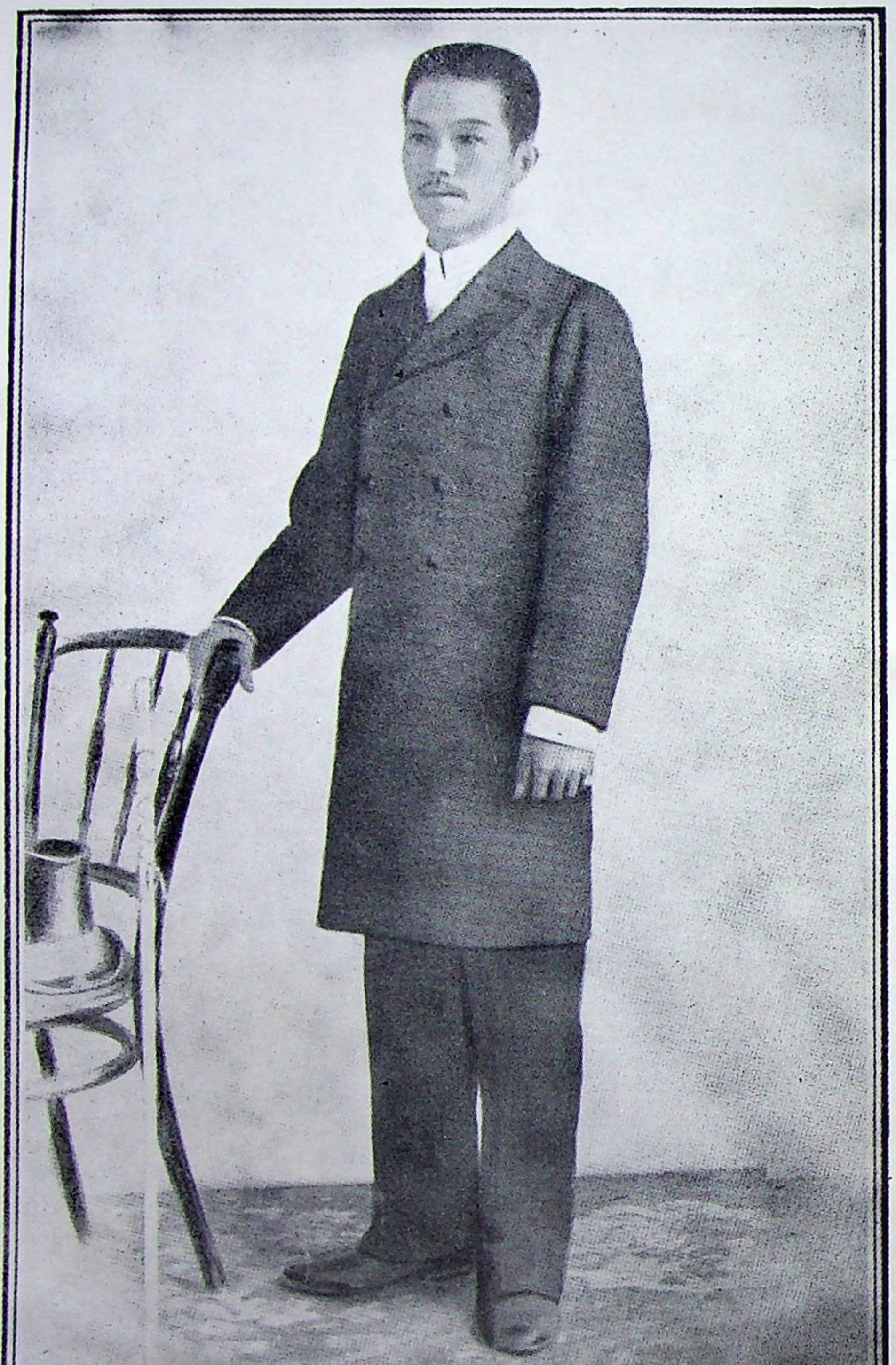

General Aguinaldo in Late 1898

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HISTORICAL BULLETIN

VOL. III MARCH 1959 NO. 1

GENERAL AGUINALDO IN RETREAT (1899)

By Sergio Osmeña Sr.

AS THE PRESSURE of the American Army under the supreme command of General Arthur MacArthur became very heavy on the defenses of Malolos, the seat of the Revolutionary Government under General Emilio Aguinaldo had to be moved first to San Isidro, Nueva Ecija, then to Cabanatuan of the same province and later to Tarlac, Tarlac, where the Filipino forces were able to hold out for six months. I called on General Aguinaldo in the Convent of Tarlac where his headquarters were established, apprising him of the state of affairs in Cebu, their need for arms, and conveyed to him the message of the Revolutionary leaders of that province expressing their loyalty to the Aguinaldo government and the cause of freedom. The conference took place in the presence of Colonel Manuel Sytiar, a presidential assistant. While in Tarlac, I was the guest of Governor Gavino Calma.

With new American reinforcements pouring in and the scarcity of ammunitions of the Revolutionary Army becoming more acute, the Aguinaldo government had to move again on November 12, 1899, to Pangasinan, where a general retreat was ordered. General Aguinaldo left Bautista, Pangasinan, on a special train to Calasiao where he and his entourage disembarked. With him were three of his Department Secretaries, Felipe Buencamino, of Foreign Affairs; Hugo Ilagan, of Finance; and Severino de las Alas, of Interior. The mother and wife of General Aguinaldo and his son, Miguel, also came. Julian Gerona, the author of the famous "Abajo Caretas" which constituted the first challenge to the Anexinista Plans, and myself, as a

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newspaperman covering Aguinaldo's retreat, were incorporated to his entourage at the recommendation of General Venancio Concepcion.

While in Bautista, I accepted the invitation of Don Hugo Ilagan, Secretary of Finance, to be his house guest.

In the railroad station of Bautista, Don Marcelino Santos, the Treasurer of the Aguinaldo government, distributed among the members of the entourage, a small amount of cash for travelling expenses. When Don Felipe Buencamino, after having bought two hard-boiled eggs at the railroad station, told us that this very meagre foodstuff may represent two days of life, Gerona and I looked at each other with great concern. Perhaps Don Felipe had a premonition of what would happen to us two days later in Pozorrubio.

From Bautista, Aguinaldo proceeded to Santa Barbara, where he was met by General Gregorio del Pilar, and continued to Manaoag. Before reaching Pozorrubio, an American column, under General Young, attempted to intercept General Aguinaldo but without success, for the General, marching always at the head of his troops, was already out of reach when General Young came, and was able to move forward to the North. But the American column succeeded in dispersing General Aguinaldo's rear guard, where the civilians were situated, and Ilagan, De las Alas, Gerona, and I had to run in all directions to escape capture. The Americans succeeded in capturing an important group composed of the mother, wife, and son of Aguinaldo and Secretary Buencamino who was accompaying them. Gerona and I, having escaped capture, continued our trip north by walking as fast as possible so we could join Aguinaldo's group. After passing several towns of Pangasinan, we entered La Union where we met General Tinio in Aringay. Upon reaching Bauan, General Tinio told us that any effort to join with General Aguinaldo and his group would be fruitless, for Aguinaldo was moving very rapidly and that our position was very precarious, since we were always between Aguinaldo and his American pursuers. He advised us to leave the coastal road leading to the Ilocano provinces, the probable Aguinaldo route, and go towards the interior instead. Heeding his advice, we took the Naguilian trail and proceeded to Sablan, and from there to Trinidad, Benguet, the seat of the Spanish Comandancia, where we were met by an old

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friend, Atty. Arcadio del Rosario, of Manila. Del Rosario was very kind to introduce us to the Governor of Benguet, Juan Cariño, who later became a member of the Philippine Assembly. Governor Cariño took us to the house of a well-known Filipinista, German Professor Otto Schaerer, who, displaying unusual hospitality to two strangers, Gerona and myself, invited us to stay with him. This perfect host was assisted by his two children, Graciana and Adolph. His house, located outside of Trinidad in Andebok on a site where now stands the high school of Baguio, the most beautiful high school building in the Philippines, was one of the best in the vicinity. While in Benguet, we joined the headquarters of Don Pedro Paterno, the Premier of the Aguinaldo Cabinet, who succeeded Mabini when the latter resigned from the Cabinet and retired in Rosales, Pangasinan. When we were still in Pangasinan, we visited the latter and freely exchanged impressions with him about the existing situation.

We remained in Benguet until January when Premier Paterno, feeling the need of contacting General Malvar who was still fighting in Batangas and Dr. Galicano Apacible who was in Hongkong at the head of the Filipino Committee there, entrusted Gerona and me with the mission of carrying to Manila important secret communications to General Malvar and Dr. Apacible. We accepted the mission and proceeded to Manila at once.

Walking all the way through, we left Trinidad and proceeded to Sablan, Naguilian, and Bauan and walked for three days through La Union and Pangasinan until we reached Dagupan where we boarded a train, run by Americans, to Manila. Upon reaching Manila, we proceeded to the house of Don Pablo Ocampo at Palma Street, Quiapo, and delivered to him the communications from Don Pedro Paterno. Don Pablo Ocampo, who later became the Filipino Resident Commissioner to the United States, was Aguinaldo's right-hand man in Manila.

When at the end of November Aguinaldo reached Ilocos Sur, he felt the pressure of Major Marsh's battalion of the 33rd Infantry belonging to the forces of General Young, which were in hot pursuit of his group. General del Pilar, the commander of Aguinaldo's rear guard, proposed that Major Marsh be stopped through a delaying action, which would give time to General Aguinaldo to retreat northward to safety, and this daring proposition met with the approval of General Aguinaldo. Consequently, when on the morning of December 2, Major Marsh's forces numbering 1,000 approached the Tirad Pass, General del Pilar with his 60 men armed with maussers prepared to defend the pass, and when Major Marsh's forces pressed on, engaged them in a fierce battle which resulted in the tragic death of General del Pilar and 53 members of his force of 60. General Aguinaldo, having gained time through this battle, escaped safely and proceeded to Bontoc, Mountain Province, via Cervantes, the last place where Aguinaldo and del Pilar had met.

When I became Vice-President of the Philippines, I made a special trip to Ilocos Sur to pay tribute to General del Pilar. Climbing up the mountains on horseback, I found, on reaching Tirad Pass, a stone marker on the site where del Pilar fell, placed by the soldiers of Major Marsh with the following epitaph:

GENERAL GREGORIO DEL PILAR
KILLED
AT THE BATTLE OF TIRAD PASS
DECEMBER 2, 1899
COMMANDING AGUINALDO'S REAR GUARD
AN OFFICER AND A GENTLEMAN

The heroic saga of del Pilar and his men is a symbol of the bravery and loyalty of the soldiers of General Aguinaldo, not only in Luzon, but everywhere in the Philippines. As a newspaperman covering, in part, Aguinaldo's retreat, I can say that General Aguinaldo was very popular among the masses of our people in the provinces I had visited and this observation was shared by the principal leaders of the Revolution, among them, Mabini, Paterno, and Buencamino with all of whom I held separate interviews. On the popular support to General Aguinaldo, the authorized testimony of no less than General Arthur MacArthur, the Military Governor and over-all Commander who succeeded General Otis, may be cited. Speaking before a US Senate Committee, General MacArthur said: "I did not like to believe that the whole population of Luzon was opposed to us, but having come thus far, and having been brought much in contact with both insurgents and **amigos**, I have been reluctantly compelled to believe that the Filipino masses are loyal to Aguinaldo and the government which he leads."

About the bravery of the Filipino soldier, I quote the commendatory words of that American hero, General Lawton, who was killed in action on Filipino soil. He said: "Taking into account the disadvantages they have to fight against in arms, equipment, and military discipline without arms, short of ammunitions, powder inferior, shells reloaded until thy are defective, inferior in every particular of equipment and supplies, they are the bravest men I have ever seen , . . What we want is to stop this accursed war . . . These men are indomitable."

With the sacrifice gallantly made by General del Pilar to provide safety for his chief, Aguinaldo was able to reach, unobstructed, the farthest northern portion of the Philippines, establishing there his hideout where he enjoyed a respite of more than a year until early in February 1901, when a courier from his headquarters surrendered to an American garrison in Pantabangan, carrying with him code messages to the field commanders of Aguinaldo. The Americans, after breaking the code, were able to learn of the whereabouts of Aguinaldo. They at once organized an expeditionary force commanded by Colonel Funston. On March 23, 1901, Funston reached Palanan, Isabela, invaded the headquarters of Aguinaldo and captured him.

The armed resistance against the United States came thus to an end. The bloody chapter in the fight for Philippine independence terminated but a new chapter was opened by the people themselves in order to continue their struggle for independence in the realm of peace. The **bolo** of the Katipunan and the maussers of the Revolution were no longer necessary implements to use. The new weapon consisted in the judicious use of the powers granted by the law to the people to prove their capacity to manage their own affairs. The new challenge was accepted and the constitutional processes were slow and long.

First, came the establishment of the municipal and provincial governments under the laws of the Commission, presided over by Mr. Taft. Then followed the implantation of a representative regime through the organization of the Philippine Assembly under the provisions of the Cooper Law of 1902. This was followed by the organization of an All-Filipino Legislature responsible to the Filipino people, under the terms of the Jones Law of 1916, substituting the Commission responsible to the

United States. As the people advanced in political training and successfully proved their capacity for self-government, a further step was taken by the United States Congress to give us more ample freedom. A Commonwealth was instituted under the Tydings-McDuffie Act as a transition to complete independence. When the last war broke out involving the United States and the Philippines, the Filipino people, faithful to their ally, the American people, stood unhesitatingly side by side with the United States and fought with them for freedom, dignity, and decency.

When almost alone in his hideout in Palanan, surprised and surrounded by his captors, Aguinaldo, ready to kill and be killed, drew his revolver with the intention of shooting his attackers, a close friend and confidant, Dr. Santiago Barcelona, grabbed his hand and prevented the use of his gun which could have only resulted in his sure death. It was the hand of Divine Providence that protected Aguinaldo in that most critical hour. God decreed that Aguinaldo's life be spared to allow him to witness from his retirement the orderly and steady development of self-government in the Philippines under the leaders elected by the people. It must have been a great satisfaction for General Aguinaldo to see with his own eyes the prudent exercise by his people of the powers and duties inherent in self-government, the numerous battles in peace fought by them to establish, with the satisfaction of the United States, the right of the Filipino people to be free. And once that right was recognized by the United States and its logical implementation succeeded, the date of independence was fixed. When the day agreed upon arrived, on the 4th of July, 1946, the United States—voluntarily and freely honoring a covenant entered with us—proclaimed the independence of the Philippines.

According to his own testimony, General Aguinaldo with tears in his eyes, tears of joy and gratitude, witnessed at the Luneta the lowering of the American flag and the simultaneous raising of the Filipino flag, the same flag we lost in the war of 1899, now waving majestically in our skies as a symbol of the independent sovereignty of the Philippine Republic, a Republic duly recognized by the United States of America and the other free nations of the world.

# # #

General Aguinaldo in 1899

GENERAL AGUINALDO IN HISTORY

by Teodoro A. Agoncillo

TIME MAY AFFORD a man the long perspective to reinforce his belief in personal destiny, yet it also works in such mysterious ways as to make any man, whatever his antecedents, its own plaything. Thus, General Emilio Aguinaldo, having played his role of leader, patriot, and hero at the most critical moment of the country's history, has been victimized by time. His long life-span, more than half a century of which he spent in comparative quiet, with desultory excursions into politics, gave him sharp perspectives and tragic-comic memories which enriched his personal experiences, but which robbed him of the chance to make himself the foremost Filipino hero. Had he died in battle, had he fought back mercilessly when some of his own men sold him down the river at Palanan and died fighting to the last ditch, like his young rear-guard commander, General Gregorio del Pilar, his monument today would have graced every town plaza.

There was something in General Aguinaldo's destiny that marked him off, first, as a young upstart — able, patriotic, and even brilliant at times and, second, as a retired hero — quiet, unassuming, and calculating. Born into a family that was not distinguished either for intellectual attainments or for economic prominence, Aguinaldo tasted a little of Spanish education, taught for a while, and then took to commerce as a means of fortifying his family's sagging economy. He was until then an ordinary young man known only as straight-backed, quiet, and soft-spoken. And then the **Katipunan**, with its incendiary leaflets and revolutionary aims, extended its plebeian arms to Cavite, where the tradition of robust manhood is expressed in deadly combats. It was the eve of the Revolution against Spain, and Aguinaldo, having now achieved a sort of fame as a newly-elected headman of his town, took the first significant step in his life by enlisting as a member of the revolutionary secret society.

Individualists to a certain extent, the Caviteños divided themselves into two rival **Katipunan** factions, each vying to outdo the other. So far, the young mayor had not made himself conspicuous as a potential leader of Cavite. Mariano Alvarez, Baldomero Aguinaldo, and Candido Tirona were far above him in leadership. There was, in fact, no sign that young Aguinaldo would rise as the foremost leader of them all. Yet at one stroke, he succeeded in making himself their acknowledged leader in Cavite by the simple expedient of leading an assault group against the Spanish garrison a few days after the outbreak of the Revolution. For Aguinaldo, it was the beginning of his rapid ascent to power. Thus the upstart.

Some heroes are the product of their time; others create the circumstances of their time; while still others are both creator and the progeny of their age. Aguinaldo was the creature of his own age. Without any military education, his courage and fortitude led him to the arena where men's strength of character and physical endurance are tested. Circumstances, then, led him to develop his potential powers and to devise the means with which to translate latent possibilities into swift and meaningful action. Thus, the series of brilliant victories in Cavite marked him for future leadership not only in Cavite, but throughout the revolt-ridden areas of Central and Southern Luzon. The stage of creative activity had now shifted from organization to active military campaigns, and Aguinaldo, with an inherent capacity for military strategy, exceeded even his wildest dreams by putting the enemy on the run. Since November 9, 1896, when the battle of Binakayan was fought, Aguinaldo had made himself indispensable to the insurgents.

To a certain extent, his rise to power and popularity was tragic. For precisely because of this popularity, Bonifacio, the great organizer, saw his star sink into the horizon — never to rise again. It was, of course, through no fault of Aguinaldo that the **Supremo** found himself displaced in the esteem of the Cavite revolutionists. With a man in their midst who had made the enemy feel the concentrated wrath of centuries of oppression it was inevitable that the Caviteños, like other Filipinos, should instinctively make an appeal to their regionalistic pride to make their man the leader of the entire revolutionary movement. And so, seven months after the outbreak of the revolution, the ob-

Ambeth Ocampo

scure mayor of Kawit found himself the lord and master of the Revolution.

Modesty is not necessarily an ingredient of greatness, but to Aguinaldo it was the necessary base on which much of his personality and, perhaps, greatness, rest. It is not much of an achievement for a man of high attainments to practise or at least show a semblance of modesty, even if assumed, but it certainly is nothing short of superhuman for a common man to remain modest — and humble — in the face of success. For the common man as a rule does not have in his system that psychological brake which restrains overwhelming passions and exuberant enthusiasm that usually override his crude rational processes. Aguinaldo is a happy exception.

From the moment of his rise to power at the Tejeros Convention in March 1897, Aguinaldo remained unruffled and unaffected by the realization that he alone, among the millions of Filipinos, wielded extraordinary powers. In an age of crisis such as that in which he lived, he could have led the life of an Oriental potentate, surrounded as he was by loyal and hero-worshipping men and women. He could have put to the sword those he deemed dangerous to his personal security and power and acquit himself creditably by citing instances in world history in which the lesser man invariably was the victim of the grim struggle for power. Aguinaldo, however, did nothing of the sort. He could have ordered not merely the arrest but the outright execution of the Bonifacio brothers soon after the Great Plebeian masterminded the seditious **Acta de Tejeros.** Circumstances and **raison d'etat** favored Aguinaldo, but always cautious and humble in a way that could be easily taken for weakness, he allowed the Bonifacio brothers and their men to move about freely. It was not until he witnessed what he considered the dangerous drift toward counter-revolution that he ordered the arrest and trial of Bonifacio. Far from exercising his absolute powers, he commiserated with the condemned men and blunted the edge of the sharp military tribunal's decision by changing the death penalty to banishment. The impulse to take the law into his hands was strong, for Bonifacio, to Aguinaldo's way of thinking, had threatened not Aguinaldo, but the revolutionary movement. Yet he preferred to temper justice with mercy even at such a stage when complete unity in the ranks was necessary.

If this decision was not carried out, it is not so much because of loss of faith in the condemned as because strong pressure beyond his control forced him to bow to the inevitable.

It was not only Bonifacio who crossed Aguinaldo's path, but his men as well. To a practical man with savage passions, Bonifacio's henchmen, General Artemio Ricarte and General Pio del Pilar, would have been liquidated in the name of unity. But Aguinaldo, more understanding than practical, not only tolerated them but, more significantly, gave them positions of responsibility in the army. That this step was wise was shown by the loyalty of the two generals to the ideals of the Republic and by leading men of faith and valor in the field against the Americans.

Time and again, during his career as the foremost Filipino leader, Aguinaldo showed his humility to the extreme. Few men with limited academic background could have risen above their source. Both in Hongkong as an exile and in the Philippines as the Republic's President, he showed an awareness of his shortcomings and tried to overcome them by understanding, tolerance, and humility. Thus, he surrounded himself, while at Hongkong, with brilliant and academically prepared Filipinos, listened to their advice, and made significant decisions based on their advice. He never gave himself to lending an ear to some late-comers; nor did he change his decisions on the basis of rumors timed to reach him at the proper psychological moment. He gave his love and faith to the men he instinctively knew to be honest and implicitly believed in their wisdom.

Apolinario Mabini, a sick and unknown lawyer, won his admiration and confidence in a way that shows how power, in Aguinaldo's case, failed to stifle the humility that was inherent in him. Unknown to him, Mabini came to his notice when Felipe Agoncillo, then in Hongkong, advised him to enlist the Paralytic's services. Back in Cavite in May 1898, Aguinaldo, learning that Mabini was an invalid resting in Los Baños, had hundreds of men take turns at carrying Mabini's hammock to Kawit. The next scene was dramatic. Before him was an emaciated man, a paraplegic, whose sensitive face told him that the man was hardly qualified to take the risks required of men made of sterner stuff. Deep inside him he thought that it was a mistake to have asked Mabini to come. Of what use would such a very sick man be to him and to the cause of the revolution? Moments of silence intervened. Then the sick man spoke. That was enough. Mabini's voice—sure, composed, quiet but firm—broke Aguinaldo's icy feeling. From there on, until Mabini's fall a year later, Aguinaldo's humility became captive to Mabini's brilliance and integrity.

He listened to Mabini, referred serious matters to him, informed him of his moves and counter-moves, and made decisions independently of Mabini's advice when he thought that he was right. Even when he disagreed with his advisers, particularly with Mabini, he never lost his temper; neither did he express his disagreement or feelings in a manner that would hurt them. Always in his notes and letters to his subordinates, he addressed them politely, using the second person plural (**inyo, ninyo**) and the particle **po,** which in Tagalog is the mark of good breeding.

In some cases, humility is but a mask to cover up mediocrity. In others, it is a hallmark of wisdom. Aguinaldo's humility is wisdom itself. Though humble, he could disagree with his wise men and make his decisions all by himself· Thus, he proposed the proclamation of independence to which Mabini was strenuously opposed on the ground that it was premature and that the first duty of the government was to reorganize the departments and to strengthen the internal organization. Aguinaldo demurred and argued that the proclamation of independence would, first, arouse the enthusiasm of the people and so rally them to the cause of the revolution, and second, it would draw the interest of the foreign powers to the struggle of Filipinos for freedom. There was a strong pressure on Aguinaldo to give up his idea of proclaiming Philippine independence. but he stuck to his conviction and won. Here is humility asserting itself without exciting the pain of a wounded pride.

There were times when Aguinaldo's nerves, already frayed by military and administrative burden, almost snapped at the rumors and intrigues that would have destroyed a lesser man. Antonio Luna, who had earlier denounced the revolution, was taken in as a field officer and Director of War on the recommendation of Felipe Agoncillo to whom Luna appealed in Hongkong when he was on his way back to the Philippines. Now in power, Luna, with his tempestuous temper, began pushing everybody around, disarming officers and enlisted men whose courage did not appeal to his military ideals, and ordering houses occupied by the Americans burned to the ground. On top of this, he left his post at Kalumpit, Bulakan, at a time when the Americans were about to launch an offensive against the town, and hurried to San Fernando, Pampanga, with his infantry, cavalry, and artillery, to take punitive action against General Tomas Mascardo for insubordination. His unceremonious withdrawal led to the debacle at Bagbag and to the capture of Kalumpit by the enemy. As commander-in-chief, Aguinaldo could have ordered Luna's court martial. Again, it was his humility and tolerance that led him to leave Luna unpunished. He knew he had the situation well in hand and, therefore, could afford to tolerate Luna's tantrums. I do not believe that Aguinaldo showed weakness of character in this instance, for had he been weak, as others suppose, he could not have welded the army, the politicians, and the people together for long, particularly at a time when a sector of the intellectuals and the wealthy was trying to undermine the administration either by secretly dickering with the Americans or by passing laws inimical to the economic stability of the harassed Republic. What Aguinaldo showed was tolerance and extreme humility which some people thought spelled weakness. Humility is essentially an act of courage; it takes courage to appreciate one's shortcomings and to recognize brilliance in others, however blinding this brilliance may be, if only because the Philippine army needed it to bring its hidden qualities to a polish. And Luna was undoubtedly a brilliant man.

There is another quality of leadership that Aguinaldo possessed but which most of the Filipino leaders sadly lack. It is his uncanny ability to choose the best man for each position. Under any other Filipino executive, Mabini would have been laughed at as a useless cripple. Luna would have been tarred and feathered for his denunciation of the revolution against Spain. Felipe Buencamino, Sr., an arch reactionary, would have been executed for having been the tool of the friars. Paterno would have been jailed for arguing, during the negotiations prior to the Truce of Biyak-na-bato, in favor of Primo de Rivera. Cayetano Arellano would have been arrested or at least ostracized and denounced for his betrayal of the cause of the Republic. Benito Legarda would have been jailed for his pro-American sentiments. But Aguinaldo knew better than to punish the "erring" intellectuals and men of wealth. With an even temper that never, even under extremely trying circumstances, rose to a pitch, he succeeded in prolonging the life of the Republic for almost three years, harassed as he was by the bickerings within and by superior enemy force without.

There was something in his personality, as in his deep humility, that made men around and below him respect his integrity and honesty. Bad politics had imputed to him the sin of having a grasping hand — that he had appropriated for himself the ₱400,000 given to him by the Spanish government in the Philippines as payment for his exile to Hongkong. Yet the original records dispel such doubts in his integrity and honesty. He kept the money in two Hongkong banks, withdrew only a part of the interest to pay for his and his men's modest subsistence, and noted down every centavo spent by the exiles. There was, in fact, dissatisfaction among the exiles because Aguinaldo was too strict with the money. He could have divided the money among the rebel leaders, as suggested by Isabelo Artacho, and lived in peace and plenty either in a foreign land or in the Philippines. But Aguinaldo, having a one-track mind and infused with the revolutionary ideals, chose to suffer and to wait.

When, late in 1898, Aguinaldo, tired of the bureaucratic entanglements and fed up with administrative duties, expressed his desire to resign as President and to remain merely as a field commander, Felipe Buencamino, Sr., getting wind of it during dinner, dashed off a long-winded letter imploring his Chief not to do such a rash thing as, he said, Aguinaldo alone stood "as a symbol of the unity of the Filipinos in their struggle for independence." If this letter can be taken as a yardstick to measure the faith and loyalty of the Filipinos to their Chief Executive, then one can deduce that only Aguinaldo stood between unity and chaos. This deduction is not at all far-fetched, for upon the capture of Aguinaldo active Filipino resistance against the Americans collapsed.

With his capture, the tenuous thread that held together the disparate temper and tendencies of the Republic snapped and a

Ambeth Ocampo

new construct was formalized into an era of suppressed nationalism.

What, then, is Aguinaldo's stature in history?

Undoubtedly, he was the foremost figure of the Revolution from 1897 to his capture in 1901. It was a short period of exactly four years, and yet what a period! Within that short span of time, Aguinaldo had made the world take notice of the small archipelago whose inhabitants were heretofore considered as nothing less than savages. He had made the cocky Americans wonder at the grit of the "little brown men" whose inferior weapons brought death to thousands of the enemy. Despite sanguine predictions of the American military commanders that the Philippine campaign would "end soon," it took them two solid years to conquer Aguinaldo's ill-equipped and poorly prepared army.

Whatever mistakes Aguinaldo had committed, it seems certain that his place in Philippine history is secure. The Philippine Republic which he shaped and led gave the Philippines its most glorious and significant epoch. His failings are insignificant compared with his achievements. A man, whether he be an artist, a writer, a historian, or a Chief Executive, should be judged in his totality. Viewed in this light, one may say: "Well done, General Aguinaldo."

If I were to visualize the form-history of the Philippines, I would draw a prism on one side of which several rays of light converge to form the focal point and on the other side another set of rays emanating from this point. The converging rays represent the factors that led to discontent; the focal point represents the Philippine Revolution; and the rays emanating from the focal point represent the significant events after the fall of the Republic.

Aguinaldo certainly occupies a distinctive place in that focal point from which all other achievements of the Filipinos have their origin.

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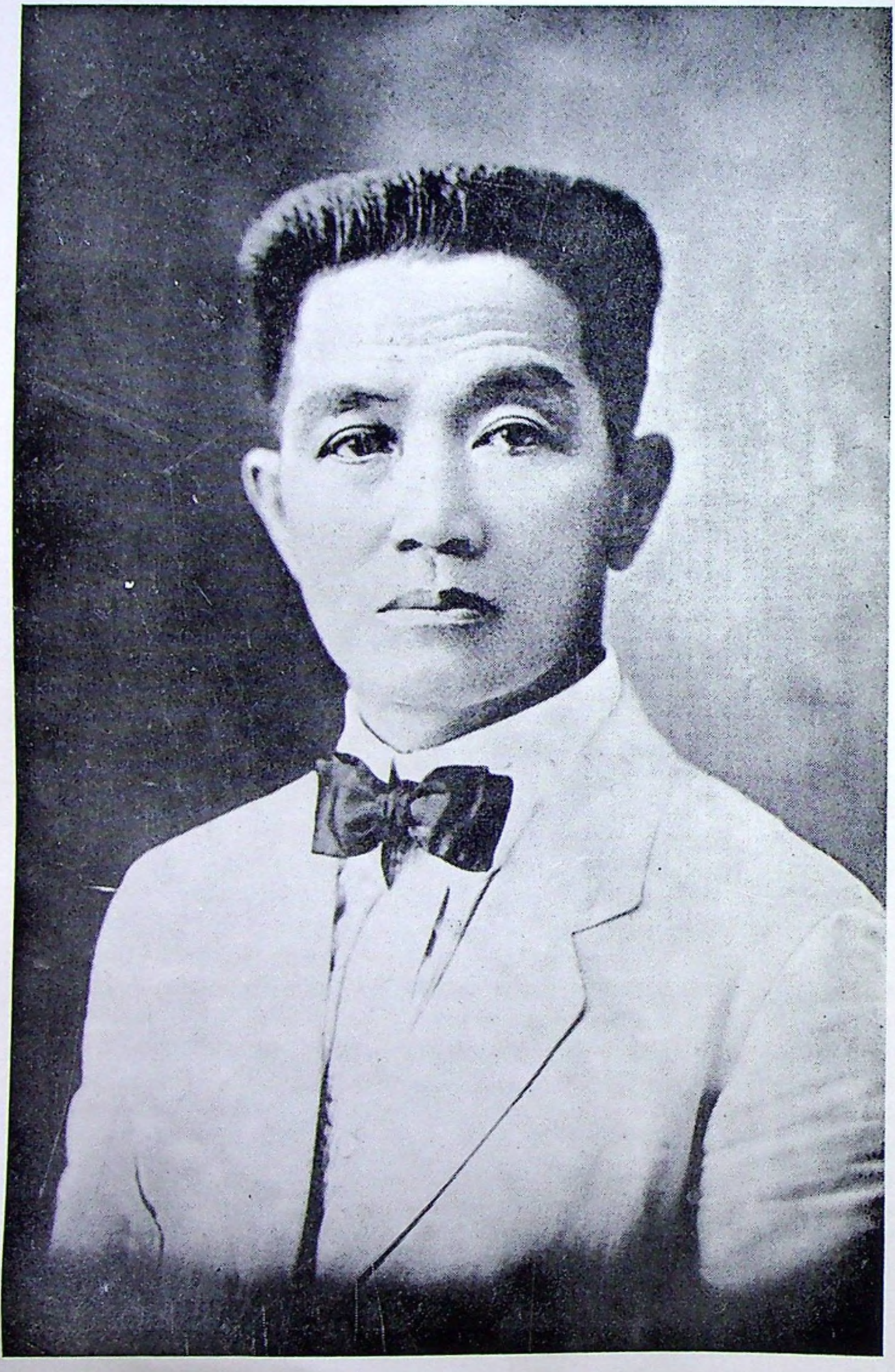

General Aguinaldo in the 'Twenties

AGUINALDO AND MABINI

By Cesar Adib Majul

IN THE HISTORY of a country when radical changes in it represent both a shift in and an increase of the basis of power, many talents inevitably spring up ready to control or participate in this power. On other occasions, such talent would have normally been stifled or remained unknown. Needless to say, therefore, if the Philippine Revolution in 1898 had not occurred, the capacity to lead and to govern, among some Filipinos, would have never been known to have been possessed by them. The events of 1898 showed that there were at least two men who demonstrated that they could effectively wield political power to bring about, to some extent, what each conceived to be the political and social emancipation of the Filipino people. These two were Emilio Aguinaldo and Apolinario Mabini.

In most of the great movements of history, leadership has always been of two forms. There is the leadership that manifests itself by the possession of ideas, and there is the leadership of the man of action. These two forms of leadership could be complementary, for the ideas of great thinkers have sometimes become instruments in the hands of leaders of men. Thus the concerted work of Aguinaldo and Mabini would have been a major desideratum in order to bring about the realization of the ideals of a long-oppressed race. Yet, the complex character of the Philippine Revolution prevented these two men from working together indefinitely. Their different social and educational backgrounds; the basic difference between an intellectual leader and a man of action; and the existence of certain economic groups that deliberately tried to alienate both men from each other—all this brought about differences between them that became difficult to reconcile.

But the most important fact to consider regarding both men was that they conceived differently the nature of political power regarded as a means. Possibly, they even had different conceptions as to what the Revolution purported to attain. Aguinaldo represented the control of that power that was needed to expel from the Philippines those elements preventing the Philippines from becoming an independent country. Political power was used mainly to do away with what was considered to be an oppressive foreign domination in both the civil and ecclesiastical spheres. It was deemed important to build a strong army that would not only be able to defeat Spanish forces in the country but also prevent American troops from endangering a newly discovered sense of sovereignty. The main basis of Aguinaldo's political power was a military one. The loyalty of his troops to him, his exploits, and the martial atmosphere of the time, all contributed to the increase of his prestige. It was a prestige which few could question with impunity.

In the case of Mabini, political power was regarded primarily as a tool not only to remind the Revolutionists of the moral commitments of the Revolution but also to bring about the creation of that atmosphere where tyranny and exploitation would be absent. Political power was to be exercised by men of authority to make possible what good government was supposed to give. And these were: security of the individual, protection of his rights, the best possible education, and maximum economic satisfaction. Whereas to Aguinaldo the expelling of foreign oppressors was of prime importance, to Mabini, what was of greater importance was that the new leaders, besides having the consent of the people, would not generate or perpetuate that kind of behavioral pattern of the Spanish colonial and ecclesiastical officials that initially sparked the Revolution.

It is important to emphasize that before Aguinaldo's arrival in Cavite in May 1898, he and Mabini did not personally know each other. What brought Mabini to Aguinaldo's attention was that even before the latter landed in Cavite, the former was already agitating for a renewed effort to continue the Revolution that began in 1896. When hostilities broke out between Spain and the United States, due to the Cuban affair, Mabini, with good perception anticipated that hostilities would reach the Philippines. He thus advised the Filipino Revolutionists to organize themselves in a more efficient manner and outlined for them a program to be followed, if and when American troops would land in the country. He suggested that they group themselves around a leader of their choice to make it possible for them to present concerted action. Thus, in his own way, Mabini helped to bring about among the people expectations regarding a leader. He did not suggest a particular leader but only pointed out the necessity for a leader. This was the role which Aguinaldo perfectly fitted in.

Before Aguinaldo's arrival, Mabini had already presented his **True Decalogue** to the people in order to bring about what he termed their "social regeneration." He likewise had presented his **Constitutional Program** for a future Republic, if and when the Revolution triumphed. His manifestos and letters to revolutionary chieftains reached Aguinaldo's ears, so much so that Aguinaldo was impressed to the extent that he invited Mabini to become his private adviser. Mabini arrived in Kawit on June 12, 1898. He became private adviser to Aguinaldo until January 1899, when he became the first prime minister of the First Philippine Republic.

As adviser to Aguinaldo, Mabini played an important role in the affairs of the Revolutionary Government. Firstly, it was Mabini who suggested that the dictatorial form of government should be transformed into the Revolutionary Government. Secondly, it was Mabini who penned the laws establishing provincial and municipal organizations, and the organic laws that established the Revolutionary Government and the Revolutionary Congress. The system for electing the delegates to the Congress was also of his making. Actually, most of the official proclamations of Aguinaldo from June 1898 to December 1898 were prepared by him. The Foreign Office was his creation, and since the Department of Foreign Affairs was directly under the office of President Aguinaldo, in practice, Mabini controlled it. All this demonstrates that to some extent Mabini did share political power with Aguinaldo.

There is no doubt that both men needed each other, at least in the formative stage of the creation of the rudiments of a governmental system. Aguinaldo needed Mabini, for not only was Mabini willing to work for a cause in which he believed, but he also had the legal training and the organizational ability to create a government for internal and external purposes. Besides this, many Filipinos, whose talents and educational achievements the Revolution needed, refused to cast their lot with the Revolutionists, and instead preferred to seek the security of American rule behind the ramparts of Manila. In the same manner that Aguinaldo had a high prestige as a military leader, Mabini had prestige as an intellectual. His personal infirmity prevented him from being thought of as a rival to Aguinaldo's political and military leadership. However, such an infirmity served to strengthen his decision to serve his country better with his mind. Mabini's patriotism was unquestioned and his integrity unchallenged. It is to be recalled that Mabini was about 5 years Aguinaldo's senior. Considering this and the fact that Mabini's educational background was greater than that of Aguinaldo, Mabini was in a position to exercise some influence on Aguinaldo regarding governmental policies. As an **ilustrado,** Mabini was looked up to as a man whose training entitled him to be consulted. Yet it was Aguinaldo who was the charismatic leader.

That Aguinaldo took Mabini as an adviser represented, in an important sense, a triumph of Liberalism in the Philippines. Because the Filipino masses were following a traditional way of thinking, Mabini took it upon himself to see to it that the governmental machinery served as an effective tool to spread liberal ideas among the people, so as to bring about new social relations. Since Aguinaldo was the chief executive and had the coercive powers of government at his bidding, nothing could be accomplished through the governmental machinery without Aguinaldo's cooperation. Consequently, Mabini also needed Aguinaldo. No large-scale plan to bring about social amelioration would be possible without Aguinaldo's aid.

Mabini realized well that Aguinaldo did satisfy the search of the Filipinos for a leader. As he put it: "Since his return from Hongkong, the Filipinos looked to him as the personification and the agent for the realization of their noble ideals and aspirations . . ."[1] But it was precisely on account of this role which the people bestowed upon Aguinaldo that made Mabini assert that Aguinaldo had assumed the burden of a heavy responsibility. This essentially consisted in the preservation and defense of those rights of the people that belonged to them by natural law.[2] Mabini was not only reminding a leader of his duties but severally judging his actions in relation to what was conceived as a higher law.

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[1] "Kruger y Aguinaldo", *La Revolución Filipina,* Volume II, Manila: Bureau of Printing, p. 207.

Mabini was essentially a moralist. He viewed the Revolution as a movement with moral aims. Thus he was determined to see to it that the leaders of the Revolution dedicate themselves to certain basic commitments, signifying those ends for which the Revolution was launched. Mabini could not help accepting the fact that Aguinaldo's political leadership was of a permanent character as long as the military element remained as the predominant factor in Filipino society. The conditions of war in the country inevitably made the military element as a basic force to consider in the country. Therefore, Mabini was determined that Aguinaldo would not in the first place fall prey to the machinations of certain economic groups which were aiming to control Aguinaldo, and hence the Revolutionary movement, for their own personal or class interest. In the second place, he was watchful that the actions of Aguinaldo would not be motivated by personal motives or ambition as to be against the interest of the people. For if certain economic groups controlled the government, they would use the government for their own interest and not for that of the people. If Aguinaldo would use his political power for his own interest or for that of his friends, such power would not redound to the well-being of the people. In any case, the aims of the Revolution would have been nullified.

That the aims of the Revolution might be perverted by the actuations of special groups in Filipino society was a constant fear of Mabini. When some rich Filipinos, Pedro Paterno among them, wanted to take advantage of the poor financial situation of the Revolutionary Government, Mabini's fears were realized. What happened was that a Decree of Aguinaldo dated November 30, 1898, authorized the formation of a permanent committee (**Junta**) to be part of the National Treasury that would take full charge of collecting the **canon** from former friar lands, which had become government lands, in order to see to it that a particular governmental loan and its interest be paid to the creditors. The Decree also provided that if the collection was not sufficient, the **Junta** was authorized to resolve the difficulty by issuing personal cedulas. Mabini immediately wrote to Aguinaldo, warning him about the possible consequences of the Decree. He felt that certain rich people, who were the ones best qualified to be members of the **Junta** on account of certain stated legal qualifications, would control the **Junta** and hence the Treasury. To quote: "Considering that the rich from Manila, in connivance with one another, will compose this **Junta** (and I understand that they have been already approached by Paterno), I already fear that we will have something worse than what we had during Spanish times. For the very reason that the Treasury is that which sustains you, if you allow it to be controlled by the rich, you will necessarily fall into their power . . ."[3] Mabini further warned Aguinaldo that these rich people were going to form a bank in Manila which would be the agency to loan the government the money that the government needed.

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[2] *Ibid.*

What can be inferred from Mabini's cryptic remarks is that it seems that when the Revolutionary Government decided to float a loan, a group of rich people were willing to form a bank and loan the money to the Government. It can also be inferred by the remarks of Mabini, that these same men, in order to assure themselves that the loan be paid, wanted to be members of the **Junta** in order to do the collection of the **canon** from former friar lands and issue **cedulas personales.** This means that those who controlled the bank were the ones to control the **Junta.**

With these inferences the following remarks of Mabini can be better understood: "When the Bank is formed, it will truly control the government because the government is its debtor. If Manila were under our power, I would not have any fear, because you would have jurisdiction over the Bank." What further followed revealed some of the decisive elements that were found in the Revolution, that is, the attempt of the rich to control the government. Mabini's sympathy with the masses was also revealed. He stated: "I did not expect these things will happen. I never expected that you would have given the rich these concessions. We have all worked without salaries, but they would not like to come across with their money without having a hand in the Treasury. It is probable that the members of the **Junta** will ask for a salary. In this case, it is always the rich that have all the advantages while the soldiers remain hungry· They will exert pressure on the tenants to pay—the administrators will pocket part of the revenues and little will go to the treasury. As the revenues will not be sufficient to pay the loan and its interests, they will be led to resort to the personal cedula. You will be left with nothing to pay the people. Finally, the tenants and employees will blame you for everything and the rich will get a good laugh!"[4] Mabini also pointed out the urgent necessity for Aguinaldo to exercise great caution in the appointment of the Secretary of the Treasury who had to be a person not susceptible to bribery. Incidentally, this letter of Mabini revealed that his influence on Aguinaldo was waning, for Mabini mentioned many other advisers that Aguinaldo now had, whereas, before, he had no one to consult except Mabini who "worked in spite of . . · sickness."

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[3] "Carta a Aguinaldo", *Cartas Politicas de Mabini,* Manila, 1930, p. 94.

The above letter demonstrated the acumen that Mabini possessed regarding class interests and conflicts. It also showed Mabini's warning to Aguinaldo in order that the latter would not be used as a tool by certain groups intriguing to grab economic power for themselves in a manner that the net result would add to the further impoverishment of the poor people.

But Mabini, in his belief in the Rule of Law, more than once assumed the role of mentor to and conscience of Aguinaldo. In a letter dated January 29, 1899, written, in all probability, to Aguinaldo, he cautioned Aguinaldo regarding the giving of a piece of land to a certain General M. for the reason that the land had already been leased to someone else in accordance with a Decree of July 18, 1898· This letter also said: "I believe that you know well enough that the government has been given authority in order to see to it that the laws are obeyed. If you do not support us in what we believe to be legal, we shall arrive at nowhere . . . This letter has no other purpose but to state that all authority, whether civil or miiltary, should conform themselves to Justice, and also that your prestige may be maintained."[5]

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[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

Mabini certainly found it important to remind government officials, even the highest ones, that government should not be run by arbitrary or whimsical desires. This also implied that persons should not use their high positions for personal benefits as against the benefits of the people. This brings up some remarks about another basic fear of Mabini. What is meant in particular is that Mabini feared that the aims of the Revolution might be perverted to the personal aims of the leaders of the Revolution. Thus he continually warned Aguinaldo as to the evil effects to the nation if power was not properly and judiciously exercised. Furthermore, if Aguinaldo would use his position to enhance his personal interest or if he would guide his actions by personal ambition, the people would be the first to withhold their loyalty from him. In one of his answers to a series of questions from General Wheeler, Mabini wrote: "Now the Filipinos recognize General Aguinaldo as President because he personifies their aspirations, but the moment they observe that he is solely motivated by personal ambition, they will withdraw their support from him and recognize another who demonstrates that he is most deserving of their confidence. . . ."[6] This was written on December 25, 1899, when Mabini was a prisoner of the Americans and while Aguinaldo was still waging a losing struggle against the American troops.

Mabini's principle was that a leader remained a leader only insofar as he truly personified the aspirations of the people and that the moment the lack of identity between the leader and the followers ensued, the people would cease to look at him as a leader. Thus in the same article he wrote: "All the Filipinos recognized him [Aguinaldo] as leader, in order to avoid quarrels and internecine rivalries. The Revolution is not the work of Aguinaldo, but of the people. He took advantage of circumstances and will preserve his popularity as long as he merits the trust of his people."[7] Here, like in so many of his letters and articles, Mabini showed his democratic principles. Insisting that one's personal or selfish interests should never be mistaken for those of the country, Mabini, in his retrospective analysis of the events of the Revolution, blamed part of the failure of the Revolution on this mistaken identity.[8]

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[5] "Carta a . . . [Aguinaldo?]", *Cartas Políticas de Mabini,* pp. 154-155.

[6] "Contestaciones a las Preguntas del Gral. Wheeler", *Cartas Politicas De Mabini,* p. 262.

[7] *Ibid.,* p. 263.

Of paramount importance, therefore, was the consent of the people in order to secure a strong basis for good government and a successful revolution. Without this consent nothing of national significance would be accomplished. Also, without consent of the people, what guarantee would there be that another revolution would not occur the moment the people felt oppressed? As Mabini put it in a letter to Aguinaldo, dated February 28, 1899:

> If the people are with us, we can rest assured that if we do not triumph today, we shall do so tomorrow or after tomorrow. If they are not with us, we shall be decimated. If the Americans represent serious dangers to us the greater dangers are those from our own countrymen on account of abuses that can be committed against them — abuses which are the frequent causes of revolutions.[9]

Mabini was fully aware that a government that disregarded public opinion or that was unaccountable to the people would sooner or later degenerate into a tyrannical one. Also, tyranny was believed to survive under conditions where the people were either ignorant or corrupt and when the army became so powerful as to be unchecked by public opinion. Mabini maintained that education could counteract ignorance and corruption. He also wanted Aguinaldo's power strengthened in order to check and control possible abuses of the army. When the question was raised by members of the Malolos Congress as to what could check the possible abuse of power in Aguinaldo, Mabini answered that an enlightened public opinion could do it. However, in Mabini's time, this public opinion would only be the opinion, not of the majority of the people, but that of the **ilustrados.** It is possible, too, that Mabini believed that Aguinaldo would always give heed to his advice or to that of the other **ilustrados** who would then be able to exercise a restaining influence on him.

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[8] "La Revolución Filipina", *La Revolución Filipina,* Volume III, p. 318.

[9] "Carta a Aguinaldo", *Cartas Políticas de Mabini,* p. 157.

It is difficult to discover how much of the personal element if any, on Mabini's part is found in the policies that he propounded in state affairs. That the strengthening of the executive power in the person of Aguinaldo, which he believed was necessary, would automatically strengthen his position—provided his advice to Aguinaldo carried weight—might not be doubted. But that Mabini's intentions were always for the stabilization of an independent Filipino state need not be doubted. The facts of the Revolution show that Mabini always remained a poor man.

In trying to construct a new way of life, Mabini found Aguinaldo willing to experiment with a novel system of governmental organization. Actually both men were trying to emancipate themselves and their people from bondage, and, in so doing, they were laying the foundation stones for a new historical transformation. This attempt is enough to secure for them a position in the history of our country.

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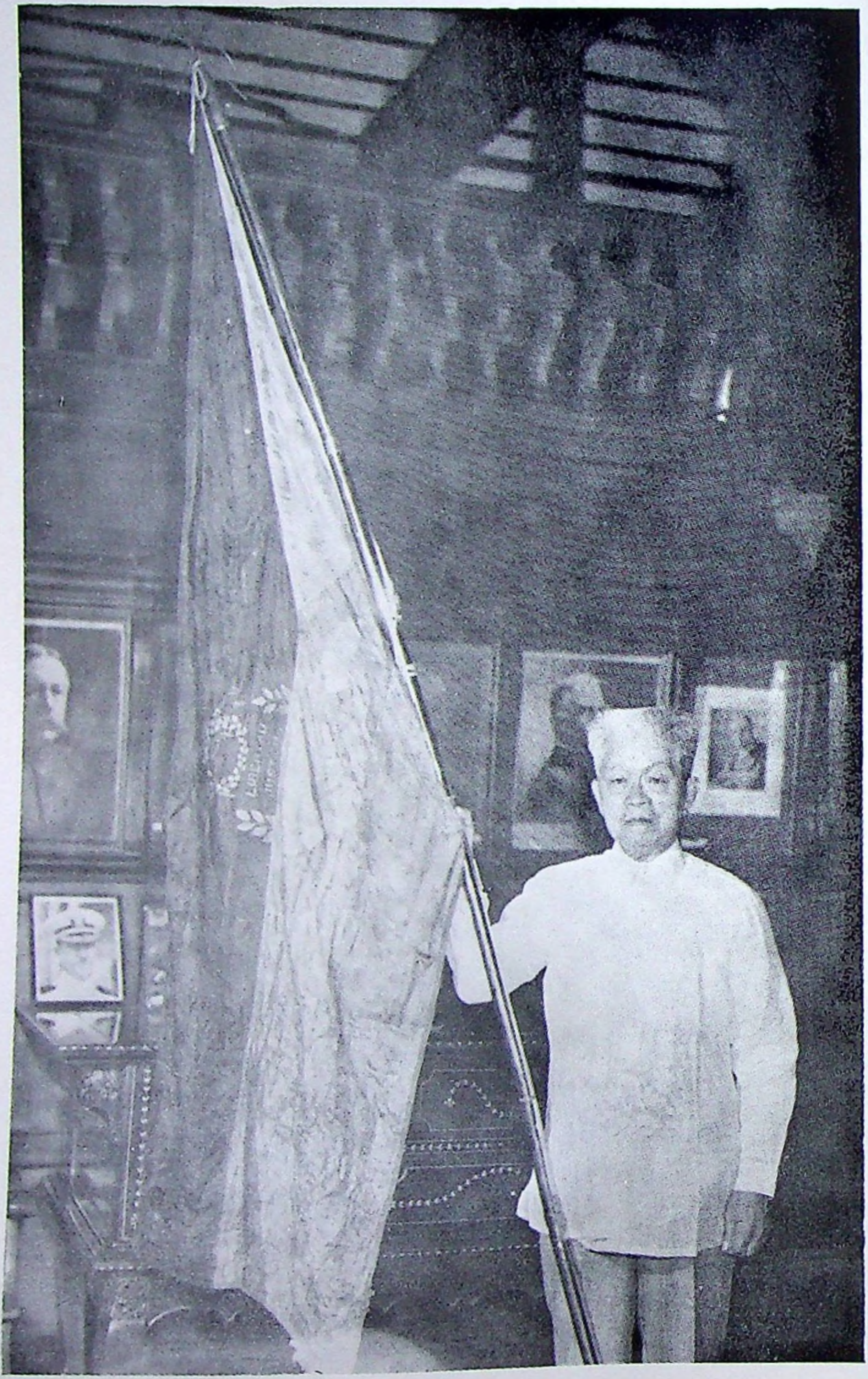
MABINI, LUNA, AGUINALDO

Mabini wrote to Aguinaldo [March 6, 1899], complaining about the "buses" of General Antonio Luna who enforced an arbitrary military decree over the whole of Pampanga by actually shooting people without even a summary trial. "To be shot to death without summary trial is a punishment", said Mabini, "which can be inflicted on soldiers; but a chief cannot enforce it in a civilized community, except among the savages". In a postscript to the same letter to Aguinaldo, Mabini suggested: "It would be better, I think, to remove him from his post."

But when Luna died through assassination — in circumstances most controversial — Mabini said, "With Luna, its firmest support, the Revolution fell, and the ignominy of the fall, weighing entirely upon Aguinaldo, caused his moral death, a thousand times more bitter than the physical one . . ."

To which Aguinaldo replied: "When all that may be said and when all authentic records and documents have been published, an impartial verdict can be rightfully formulated. As for myself, I shall maintain the silence in which I have decided to remain in order not to obstruct or defeat the efforts of some people who have beeen fabricating and are still manufacturing heroes and heroisms to satisfy purposes of purely personal convenience to the detriment of truthful history".

—*Philippines Free Press,* November 2, 1929.



General Aguinaldo with the Flag of the Veterans of the Philippine Revolution. Picture Taken in Early 'Fifties.

Ambeth R. Ocampo

AGUINALDO'S RELATIONS WITH PRATT AND WILDMAN [1]

By Honesto A. Villanueva

GENERAL Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy conducted in 1896 a war against the Spanish authorities in the Philippines with an ill-equipped and poor army. Faced with such dilemma, Aguinaldo came to terms with Spain — thus the well-known Truce of Biaknabato was concluded in December 1897. The amount of 800,000 pesos was offered to Aguinaldo by Primo de Rivera, the then Governor-General of the Philippines. Aguinaldo and his staff had to leave the Philippines into an exile. Aguinaldo was prevailed upon to accept the money on condition that Spain would institute reforms, including representation in the Spanish Cortes, freedom of the press, amnesty to all Filipinos who took arms against the authority of Spain, and expulsion or secularization of the monastic orders.

There was a systematic attempt to discredit Aguinaldo and the members of his cabinet on account of the questionable terms of the agreement in the Truce of Biaknabato. It was said that they sold out their country for gold. This was, however, disproved by the famous speech of Governor-General Rivera in the Spanish Senate on June 11, 1898.[2] He said that Aguinaldo undertook to submit to the terms provided that the Spanish government would give a certain sum to the widows and orphans of the Revolutionists. Rivera admitted that only a part of the money was given to Aguinaldo. He did not find it expedient to fulfill the other promises. Actually the amounts of 400,000 and 200,000 pesos were given to Aguinaldo and to the Revolutionists in Biaknabato, respectively.

The Aguinaldo party left the Philippines for Hongkong on December 27, 1897. Other Revolutionists were left at Biaknabato to take care of the execution of the agreement.[3] On the following day, the Governor-General cabled Madrid that the truce with the Revolutionists in the Philippines was already concluded. The surrender of arms began on December 31, and continued during the months of January and February. Peace was proclaimed in Manila by Primo de Rivera on January 30. The restoration of peace was only in theory. The Spaniards failed to comply with the terms of the arranged peace. The Truce of Biaknabato was ridiculed when it was presented to the Spanish Cortes. Spain actually paid Aguinaldo only 600,000 pesos of the promised amount. The promised reforms were not introduced by the government. This violation of the terms of peace gave Aguinaldo a good excuse for resuming the Revolution at the first opportune time. A decision was reached by Aguinaldo and his staff to use the money for the purchase of arms. The amount of 400,000 pesos was later deposited in a Hongkong bank. The money was kept intact in the bank and the interest earned was used by the exiled group for minor expenses.

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[1] Rounseville Wildman was an American Consul-General in Hongkong and E. Spencer Pratt was an American Consul-General in Singapore.

[2] *Senate Document*, 62, pt. 2, 55 Cong., 3 sess., 337.

It was in Hongkong where Aguinaldo had his first contact with the Americans. Before the arrival of Aguinaldo in Hongkong, friendly relationships between Rounseville Wildman, an American consul, and Filipinos residing there had already been established. They followed closely the diplomatic difficulties between Spain and the United States over the Cuban question.

Felipe Agoncillo, perhaps the ablest of all the diplomatic agents of the Revolutionary Government then in Hongkong, called upon Mr. Wildman several times. He was commissioned by Aguinaldo with absolute powers to conclude treaties with foreign governments. On this official call he proposed an alliance, both offensive and defensive, between the Philippines and the United States should war break with Spain. He also wished that the United States would send to some designated ports of the Philippines, 20,000 rifles and 200,000 rounds of ammunition payable upon the recognition of the Philippine government by the United

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[3] General Emilio Aguinaldo with Vicente Albano Pacis, *A Second Look at America*, 28. See also: Honesto A. Villanueva, "Diplomacy of Spanish-American War," *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review*, Vol. XIV, No. 2 (June 1949), 175.

States. He also pledged the security of two provinces and the customhouse at Manila.[4]

This proposal made by Agoncillo was officially sent by Wildman to the Secretary of State for advice. The Third Secretary of State, Mr. Thos. W. Cridler, in his diplomatic instructions to Wildman dated December 15, 1897, stated that he "may briefly advise Mr. Agoncillo, in case he should call" again "that the United States does not negotiate such treaties and that it was not possible to forward the desired arms and ammunitions."[5] He was also further instructed that he should not encourage any advances on the part of the Filipino diplomat and he should courteously decline to communicate with the Department of State further regarding his alleged mission to Washington to conclude the proposed treaty.

The Filipinos now became more concerned when the **Maine**[6] was blown up in Havana harbor on February 15, 1898. The whole world was startled by the catastrophe. Two hundred and sixty-six of the crew perished. Brief dispatches to all American embassies about the disaster were sent throughout the civilized world. The American public was inflamed because unscrupulous journals laid the responsibility for the disaster on official Spain.[7] Theodore Roosevelt, then Assistant Secretary of the Navy, was most unhappy over the loss of the **Maine**, a feeling shared by the other members of his Department. He was in favor of going to war with Spain, if the explosion had been due to outside forces. At the same time he wrote that the solution to the problem lay in Cuban independence by peaceful means if possible, or, failing that, by war.[8] The public was asked to withhold judgment. Expressions of condolence were sent by foreign governments and officials, including the Queen Regent Christina and various officials in Spain and Cuba.[9]

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[4] Rounseville Wildman to Mr. Day, Nov. 3, 1897, Department of State, *Consular Letters* Hongkong Vol. XIX. Also *Senate Document*, 62, pt. 2, 55 Cong., 2 sess., 333.

[5] *Senate Document*, 62 pt. 2, 55 Cong., 3 sess., 334.

[6] Aguinaldo, *op. cit.*, 29.

[7] Harry F. Guggenheim, *The United States and Cuba—A Study in International Relations*, 40-42. Also see Villanueva, *op. cit.*, Vol. XIV, No. 3 (Sept. 1949), 328.

[8] "Roosevelt to White, March 9, 1898," *White Papers*, Library of Congress.

[9] *United States Foreign Relations 1898*, (pp.) 1929-1932.

The Filipino group of exiles who lived in Hongkong closely followed the course of events in Cuba and in their homeland. They all held a uniform opinion that war had become inevitable. Rumors and persistent predictions were made by the leaders of the Revolution that war was liable to break in March. The hour of decision was at hand. Aguinaldo's small staff and other Filipinos in the British Colony began to discuss freely what course was to be taken should the United States and Spain go to war. They explored all possible ways by which they could go back to the Philippines.[10] They kept close tab on what was happening in the Philippines at that time.

The American consular reports to Washington clearly pictured the real situation in Manila and other parts of the Islands. The horrors inflicted by the Spaniards upon the Filipinos were unspeakable. Oscar F. Williams, an American in Manila, in his letters to Washington said that "conditions here and in Cuba are practically alike. War exists, battles are almost daily occurrences, . . . Prisoners are brought here and shot without trial, and Manila is under martial law."[11]

During this period when war between the United States and Spain was expected, Mr. Williams further observed that Filipinos, Chinese, Spaniards, and others engaged in business were ready to welcome and to swear allegiance to American sovereignty. Because of the worsening conditions, Aguinaldo decided to return to the Philippines.

The Filipinos in Hongkong had now made many plans. One group called for immediate purchase of arms out of the money they deposited in a Hongkong bank. They would return to their fatherland fully armed and would renew the Revolution to coincide with the long-expected war between the United States and Spain. There was, as usual, no unanimity of opinion. One group looked towards Japan for a possibility of alliance. When this was discussed some of them objected for fear that Japan might ask for greater diplomatic concessions. When the subject of alliance with the United States was suggested, all felt that it was impossible because they believed that fighting between Spain and the United States would be confined only to Cuba.

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[10] Aguinaldo, *op. cit.*, 29.

[11] See O. F. Williams' letter to the Department of State, *Senate Document*, 62, pt. 2, 55 Cong., 3 sess., 319.

On or before April 6, 1898, one of the gunboats of the American flotilla, the **Petrel**, arrived in Hongkong. Its captain, Commander Wood, sought Aguinaldo for a conference. This led to a series of secret conversations with the knowledge of Commodore Dewey. Captain Wood urged Aguinaldo to return to Manila to reassemble his troops. They would be supplied with arms by Dewey. According to Aguinaldo, Captain Wood confided to him that Dewey was to proceed to Manila to destroy the Spanish fleet there.[12]

These conferences and contacts of the Filipino General with the Americans were cut short because of the presence of Isabelo Artacho in Hongkong. Artacho, the former chief subordinate of Aguinaldo at Biaknabato, sued the General for no less than 200,000 pesos for his services. This was almost equivalent to one-half of the money which was deposited in a bank in Hongkong. In order to avoid scandal Aguinaldo decided, with the advice of his minister, Felipe Agoncillo, to leave Hongkong immediately. Aguinaldo claimed that the money was a trust fund. It was to remain on deposit until the Spaniards carried out their promised reforms. If they failed, it was to be used to purchase arms to renew the Insurrection. The suit was settled out of court by paying Artacho 5,000 pesos according to the memorandum of General Francis Greene submitted to President McKinley on September 30, 1898.[13]

General Aguinaldo left Hongkong for Singapore and was accompanied by his aide-de-camp, Colonel Gregorio del Pilar, and his private secretary, J. Leyba. Aguinaldo arrived incognito in Singapore from Saigon on April 21, 1898. The main purpose of Aguinaldo's visit to Singapore was to consult other friends, particularly Mr. Howard W. Bray who had resided in the Philippines for fifteen years. He wanted to find out from Bray the state of affairs in the Islands, particularly the possibility of the occurrence of hostilities between the United States and Spain.[14]

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[12] Aguinaldo, *op. cit.*, 30.

[13] *Senate Document*, 62, pt. 2, 55 Cong., 3 sess., 421.

[14] "Mr. Pratt to Mr. Day, May 5, 1898, No. 217," Department of State, *Consular Letters*, Singapore XXII.

In Singapore, Bray arranged a meeting between Aguinaldo and American Consul-General E. Spencer Pratt. According to Aguinaldo in **A Second Look at America,** [15] Pratt requested the pleasure of the General to a conference with him on a very vital problem. At this time the United States and Spain were already in a state of war. At this conference Pratt tried to convince Aguinaldo that now was the propitious time to strike. Cooperative Filipino-American efforts were necessary, according to Pratt, in order to insure complete victory over the Spaniards in the Philippines. "America will help you if you help America . . . You need not have any worry about America. The American Congress and the President have just made a solemn declaration disclaiming any desire to possess Cuba and promising to leave Cuba after having driven away the Spaniards . . . As in Cuba, so in the Philippines."[16]

Aguinaldo was very much elated over the wise counsel of the American Consul-General in Singapore to whom he revealed that if Dewey was to invite him officially and would confirm Pratt's statement, he would go back to the Philippines and fight side by side with the Americans. Now that Pratt had obtained the promise of the General (Aguinaldo) for joint American and Filipino attack against Spain, Pratt cabled Commodore Dewey of Aguinaldo's attitude. Immediately, Dewey without further consulting Washington, asked Aguinaldo to come to Hongkong for a conference.[17] Pratt confided to Aguinaldo that Dewey would at least recognize the independence of the Philippines under the protectorate of the United States. This was confirmed by Commodore Dewey on May 19 on the flagship **Olympia** in Manila Bay.[18] However, all this was subsequently denied by the American Consul-General and by the Commodore himself. It is indeed very clear that the consuls in the Far East, Pratt and Wildman, without waiting for orders from the Department of State, busied themselves in using all resourcefulness toward the fulfillment of Dewey's expected mission. However, Pratt and Wildman later received instructions from the Department of State not to make pledges or discuss policy.[19]

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[15] Aguinaldo, *op. cit.*, 33.

[16] *Ibid.*, 34.

[17] "Pratt to Day, April 28, 1898, No. 212," Department of State, *Consular Letters, XXII.* See also *Senate Document* 62, pt .2, 55 Cong., 3 sess., 241.

[18] Aguinaldo, *op. cit.*, 39.

Aguinaldo's party left Singapore on the night of April 25, and arrived in Hongkong on the first of May.

Rounseville Wildman, the American Consul, was requested by Dewey to meet Aguinaldo with the instructions that since the Commodore had already proceeded to Manila he would send a battleship to fetch Aguinaldo. This gave time for the Filipino General to round out his affairs with Wildman, who later became enthusiastic about another matter of purchasing arms. They became fast friends. Aguinaldo trusted him to purchase arms that were greatly needed to continue the Revolution against Spain. He left 50,000 pesos for the payment of 2,000 rifles and 200,000 rounds of ammunition and for a launch boat that may be needed to transport service in the Islands. Later another 67,000 pesos was entrusted to his care because of the "sincerity and honesty of Mr. Wildman," which elicited Aguinaldo's confidence. All this was effected before Wildman and U.S. Minister John Barrett to Spain escorted Aguinaldo to the U.S. gunboat **McCulloch.**[20]

The personal relations between Wildman and Aguinaldo started when Felipe Agoncillo, holding a commission signed by Aguinaldo as his chief minister abroad, presented himself to the American Consul. Agoncillo suggested the idea of a Filipino-American alliance. This proposal was later declined by the United States. Aguinaldo arrived in Hongkong with his group of exiled leaders of the Revolution in December 1897. Aguinaldo became acquainted with Wildman. Today there exists in the Department of State files a letter sent by W. F. Sylvester dated December 16, 1898, with an enclosed forged photograph of Wildman juxtaposed with Aguinaldo's.[21]

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[19] *Senate Document,* 62, pt. 2, 55 Cong., 3 sess., 340 and 354.

[20] Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy, *True Version of the Philippine Revolution,* 15. See also Villanueva, *op. cit.,* 177. It is worthwhile to explain here that Aguinaldo had never recovered from Wildman the last amount of ₱67,000 entrusted to him. Aguinaldo states..."My contact with Wildman may be said to have cost me ₱67,000."

The letters of W. F. Sylvester to Dewey on Dec. 16, 1898 and to President William McKinley on February, 1898, throw further light on the matter. Sylvester claimed that Wildman refused to return the money to Aguinaldo because he (Wildman) disclaimed to have received it. Sylvester believes that Wildman had part of the money. Wildman's action, according to Sylvester, had been prejudicial to good relations between the United States and the Filipinos. Sylvester has identified himself as the agent of the Penn. Steel Co., Savage Co., and the Sims Duddly Dynamite Gun Co., and was engaged in the transactions in Hongkong with the Filipino Revolutionists. See Dept. of State, *Miscellaneous Letters,* pt. 3, 1898.

Sylvester revealed that Wildman went to a Chinese photographer in Hongkong with a negative film of General Aguinaldo's. He asked that an authorized photograph be made of him and Aguinaldo together, stating that "he wished to send same to America for the newspapers."

Wildman wrote letters to Aguinaldo after the General had arrived in Cavite. He acted as if in the capacity of a select adviser to the Filipino General. Some of his letters would end with such a phrase as, "I am, as ever, Your Friend, Rounseville Wildman, Consul-General." Like Pratt, who congratulated himself in triumph over the Spaniards, Wildman congratulated himself too. He even went to the extent of advising Aguinaldo as to what to do concerning the treatment of Spanish prisoners.

> In case . . . you find any of them break oath and you capture them with arms in their hands, give them the full penalty. . . . do not let any of your prominent prisoners escape. Keep them as hostages... Never mind about feeding them three meals a day. Rice and water will be a good diet. They have been living too high for the last few years.[22]

Mr. Wildman, in his dispatch to the Department of State dated July 18, 1898, also made reference to General Aguinaldo, Agoncillo, Sandiko, etc., as good men who could all be leaders in their separate departments in any country. He pictured them as superiors to the Malays and the Cubans.[23] This statement was similar to the estimate of Commodore Dewey about the Filipinos. Later, Wildman was reprimanded by the Assistant Secretary of State, John Bassett Moore on August 6, 1898, for having had correspondence with Aguinaldo, as reported by a Hongkong newspaperman. He was forbidden from making pledges or talking on policies, for policies, he was reminded, belonged to the Department of State and not to consuls abroad.[24]

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[21] See Sylvester's enclosure in his letter on December 16, 1898, Department of State, *Miscellaneous Letters*, pt. 3, 1898.

[22] "Felipe Buencamino to the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives," 20th August 1899. Library of Congress.

[23] Wildman to Moore, July 18, 1898, *Consular Letters, Hongkong* XIX.

Mr. Wildman made a firm denial that he ever made pledges or discussed the policies of America with Aguinaldo. He said all that he tried to do was to hold him to his promises made before Dewey had brought him to the Philippines.[25] Since the records are now available, it is established that he had been writing letters to the Filipino General. The most famous of this letter was written on June 25th, 1898:[26]

> General Aguinaldo
> Cavite
>
> My dear General,
>
> ... Your work and ability have been fully recognized not only by the people of the United States, but also by the entire civilized world. Since the Cuban leaders have fallen to quarreling among themselves and General Garcia has declined to have any further dealing with the United States to free Cuba and the Philippines from the cruel yoke of Spain, it all remains with you to retain this proud position.
>
> Do not forget the United States undertook this war for the sole purpose of relieving the Cubans from the cruelties under which they were suffering and not for the love of conquest or hope of gain. They are actuated by precisely the same feeling towards the Philippines....
>
> Sincerely yours,
>
> Rounseville Wildman,
> Consul General

The policy that this revealing Wildman document voiced was precisely the policy that the United States had entertained toward Cuba. Consul-General Wildman was implying in his letter to General Aguinaldo that such a statement of policy would be applied to the Philippines. It is hard to believe that after John Bassett Moore had advised Wildman to stop talking on foreign policies, he (Wildman) now turned his big guns against Aguinaldo. He had considered Aguinaldo's letters as childish and described him as a man who was "far more interested in the kind of cane he will carry or the breastplate he will wear than in the figure he will make in history."[27] Of course Wildman was upset for being reprimanded by his chief in Washington and it is easy to understand his later attitude towards Aguinaldo and other Filipinos whom he had labelled in Hongkong as superiors to the Malays and the Cubans. It was also known that Wildman refused to return the money he received from Aguinaldo, who said that "my contact with Wildman may be said to cost me 67,000 pesos."

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[24] *Senate Document*, 62, pt. 2, 55 Cong., 3 sess., 338.

[25] Wildman to Moore, Aug. 9, 1898 No. 66, *Consular Letters*, Hongkong XIX.

[26] Buencamino, *op. cit.*

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[27] *Senate Document*, 62, pt. 2, 55 Cong., 3 sess., 339.

# # #

To Buy the Philippines

As usual Spain had appealed to European powers to help her save her territory in the New World [during the revolution in Cuba]. It is now known, since the publication of the German series of diplomatic correspondence, *Die Politic der Europaischen Kabinette*, that the proffered mediation of the Pope, on the principle of independence for Cuba, was urged at Rome by the German Foreign Office, which was anxious to prevent any war between Spain and the United States because it might interfere with a German project for purchasing the Spanish islands in the Pacific, including the Philippines.

—L. B. Shippee, Germany and the Spanish-
American War", *American Historical*
Review, XXX (July 1925), pp. 745-777.

FILIPINO WAR AGAINST THE AMERICANS

Emiliano L. Laus

IN THE BEGINNING, owing to his understanding with Consuls Wildman, Pratt, and Admiral Dewey, President Emilio Aguinaldo had been optimistic that the United States would ultimately recognize Philippine independence. Unfortunately, unpleasant developments, like the capitulation of Manila, the Treaty of Paris, President McKinley's assimilation proclamation, and the collapse of the Filipino-American negotiations, compelled the Filipino President to declare war against the United States.

In the first place, the capitulation of Manila to the Americans on August 13, 1898, in which the Filipinos were not allowed to participate, marked the beginning of the parting of the ways of the two peoples. After fighting so hard in overthrowing the Spanish armed forces in Luzon and the Visayas, the Filipinos expected to crown their victory by capturing Manila, their capital city. Hence, they were disgusted and disappointed when, by a tricky arrangement entered into by the Spanish and American authorities, Aguinaldo's forces were studiously excluded from effecting the surrender of Manila. Thus in the evening of August 12, 1898, General Aguinaldo was puzzled to receive from General Anderson, the American commander, the following telegram, "Do not let your troops enter Manila without the permission of the American commander. On this side of the Pasig river, you will be under our fire."[1]

Another factor which prevented Aguinaldo from continuing friendly relations with the Americans was the signing by the American and Spanish commissioners of the Treaty of Paris on December 10, 1898, in which Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States. This was a blow to the Filipinos' aspiration for political emancipation. General Aguinaldo energetically protested against this treaty. He accused the Americans of duplicity and ingratitude and through his representative, Don Felipe Agoncillo, asserted that Spain, having been ousted from the Islands, had no right to enter into a cession agreement with the United States with respect to the Philippines. It was recalled that the Filipino leaders in the beginning were asked by the American officials, including Pratt, Wildman, and Dewey, to cooperate and help fight against Spain with the promise that the independence of the Philippines would be recognized when victory was achieved. Hence, the ceding of the Philippines to the United States was no less than an act of treachery to the Filipino people.[2]

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[1] Emilio Aguinaldo with Vicente Albano Pacis, *A Second Look at America*, p. 76; James LeRoy, *The Americans in the Philippines*, Vol. I, p. 239.

Another factor which contributed to the strained relationship between the Americans and Filipinos was the "Benevolent Assimilation" policy officially announced on December 21, 1898 by President William McKinley. This policy indicated forcibly that the Washington Administration was to retain the Philippines and not to recognize its independence. Among other things, it stated that with the conclusion of the Treaty of Paris on December 10, 1898, the disposition, control, and government of the Philippine Islands were turned over to the United States. The military commander was therefore enjoined to extend by force, if necessary, American sovereignty over the entire Philippine archipelago, giving asssurance, however, to the inhabitants that the mission of the United States was one of benevolent assimilation.[3]

It was therefore clear that the Filipinos would be deprived of their independence and that their bloody struggle had brought them only a change of masters. They, therefore, became furious when the American military command attempted to extend to, and impose their authority and sovereignty on, the Visayas. Protesting against this attempt, Aguinaldo said:

> My government cannot remain indifferent . . . [to] such a violent and aggressive seizure of a portion of its territory by

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[2] For a summary of the "Memorial" of Felipe Agoncillo which he submitted to the United States Senate on January 30, 1899, as a protest against the Treaty of Paris, see Leandro H. Fernandez, *The Philippine Republic*, pp. 118-121; also Maximo M. Kalaw, *The Case for the Filipinos*, pp. 64-78.

[3] For the text of McKinley's Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation, see Maximo M. Kalaw, *The Development of Philippine Politics*, p. 169.

> a nation which has arrogated to itself the title of champion of oppressed nations. Thus it is that my government is disposed to open hostilities if the American troops attempt to take forcible possession of the Visayan Islands [meaning Iloilo]. I denounce these acts [of the Americans] before the world in order that the conscience of mankind may pronounce its infallible verdict as to who are the oppressors of nations and the tormentors of mankind.[4]

Following instructions from Washington, General Otis, the American military governor of the Philippines, proclaimed on January 4, 1899, although in a modified form, the implantation of American sovereignty over the Philippines. The following day, January 5, 1899, General Aguinaldo answered General Otis in the following words:

> General Otis styles himself, in the said proclamation, the military governor of the Philippines, and I protest a thousand times and with the energy I possess against such authority.
>
> I proclaim solemnly that I have not entered into any agreement, neither in Singapore nor in Hongkong, nor even here in the Philippines, either verbally or in writing, to recognize the sovereignty of America over this land.
>
> As, in the proclamation of General Otis, reference is made to instructions from the President of the United States regarding the administration of affairs in the Philippines, I solemnly protest in the name of God, the supreme arbiter of right and justice, who has evidently granted me the power to guide my countrymen in this difficult task of our regeneration against the intrusion of the American government in the sovereignty of these islands.[5]

In order to iron out the differences between the two peoples, Aguinaldo and Otis agreed to the formation of a mixed commission composed of General R. P. Hughes, Colonel James F. Smith, and Colonel E. H. Crowder, representing the American Army; and Florentino Torres, Ambrocio Flores, and Manuel Arguelles, representing the Revolutionary Government. The mixed commission held conferences from January 11 to 31, 1899. The Filipino commissioners explained that the American declaration of sovereignty in the so-called "Benevolent Assimilation" Proclamation was not only contrary to the understanding between the American representatives and Emilio Aguinaldo, but also was a hard blow to Filipino political aspirations. The American commissioners pointed out that the sovereignty over the Philippines was vested in Spain which has ceded the Islands to the United States by virtue of conquest. Since the Filipino commissioners would not recognize this contention in consonance with definite instructions from Aguinaldo, the negotiations collapsed. The outbreak of the Filipino-American war became inevitable.[6]

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[4] William Thaddeus Sexton, *Soldiers in the Philippines,* p. 48.

[5] Teodoro M. Kalaw, *The Philippine Revolution,* p. 157.

Thus on February 4, 1899, when the Americans started the aggression by shooting a Filipino officer at the San Juan del Monte bridge, President Emilio Aguinaldo formally declared war against the United States. He issued the following edict:

> 1. Peaceful and friendly relations between the Filipino and American forces of occupation are at an end, the latter to be treated as enemies within the limits prescribed by the laws of war.
>
> 2. The American soldiers captured by the Filipino forces are to be treated as prisoners of war.
>
> This edict shall be brought to the knowledge of the Consuls in Manila, and of Congress so that it may suspend constitutional guarantees and declare a state of war.[7]

The Nation, a liberal and irrepressible magazine in the United States, in its issue of April 4, 1901, paid Aguinaldo this tribute:[8]

> Whatever fate may be in reserve for him (Aguinaldo), he will be known to history only as a defender of liberty under desperate circumstances and against terrible odds. With little money and scant resources in arms, ammunitions, and supplies,

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[6] Dean C. Worcester, *The Philippines Past and Present*, pp. 974 *et seq.*

[7] Kalaw, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-6.

[8] Sexton, *op. cit., p.* 277.

he has maintained the fight for more than two years against an organized army of more than 65,000 men, possessing every appliance of modern warfare and having entire command of the sea. That in this heroic endeavor he was moved solely by patriotism and that his character was above reproach is the testimony of officers of our own, both military and civil. Nor has his career been stained by any act of cruelty. At the time when the responsibilities were thrown upon him he was only twenty-seven years of age. History can show few brighter examples of patient endurance, intellectual resource, and high principle. We feel sure that such virtues will stir the admiration of every lover of liberty in the world and that the name of Aguinaldo will find a place eventually in all American hearts.

# # #

Measure of Greatness

Speaking of "great men" in the sense that they are anointed as such by history, what are the requisites? What made Christ great? Lincoln? Our own Rizal? And a host of others in all the lands of the earth? Christ without the cross and the resurrection, Lincoln without the assassination, Rizal without Bagumbayan — would these have risen to the stature fashioned for them by human evaluators? If Aguinaldo had died at Palanan in the face of treachery, would he have acquired greater stature? But Washington, the father of his country, died quietly, and so did Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and so did thousands of others in youth or old age, and yet have attained "greatness and immortality" — in the arts, in the sciences, in statecraft, in war.

Might it not be that the criterion of true greatness is the amount of good a deed inspires during its time and long thereafter, the influence of that deed having changed the course of thousands of lives in many lands — and mankind would have been impoverished if that deed had not been born?

—Ardee Dee, "Unpublished Political Notes"

MY FATHER*

By Carmen Aguinaldo-Melencio

THE **Philippines Free Press** requests that I write something pertaining to the daily life of General Aguinaldo — his habits, customs, opinions on various topics, his likes and dislikes. I gladly do so.

I shall begin with his daily routine whenever he is at Kawit. He gets up very early in the morning, often before five o'clock, except after a very long trip when, through fatigue, he oversleeps. But this seldom happens. He says he has already reached the age when he can sleep only from three to six hours a night. When preparing an important document, he sometimes does not sleep at all. He does not dictate his statements. He writes them out in long hand, closely spaced and in very fine letters. He goes at it paragraph by paragraph, perfecting each paragraph by rewriting it several times. He then goes on to the next, and so on. Whether in Spanish or Tagalog, that is his method. After finishing his own draft he turns it over to his advisers for polishing and revision.

At about six in the morning he takes his daily exercise, followed by a cold shower. Before he was given a chest expander, his exercise consisted in stretching his arms out above his head, then bending his body, with legs stiff, and then straightening to the erect position. He did that 113 times — because when he was operated upon for appendicitis some gauze was left inside and was found only on the 113th day. Now he has modified this by adding exercises with the chest expander. He began with two springs; now he uses five. When he has time he goes swimming in the small pool under his room to which

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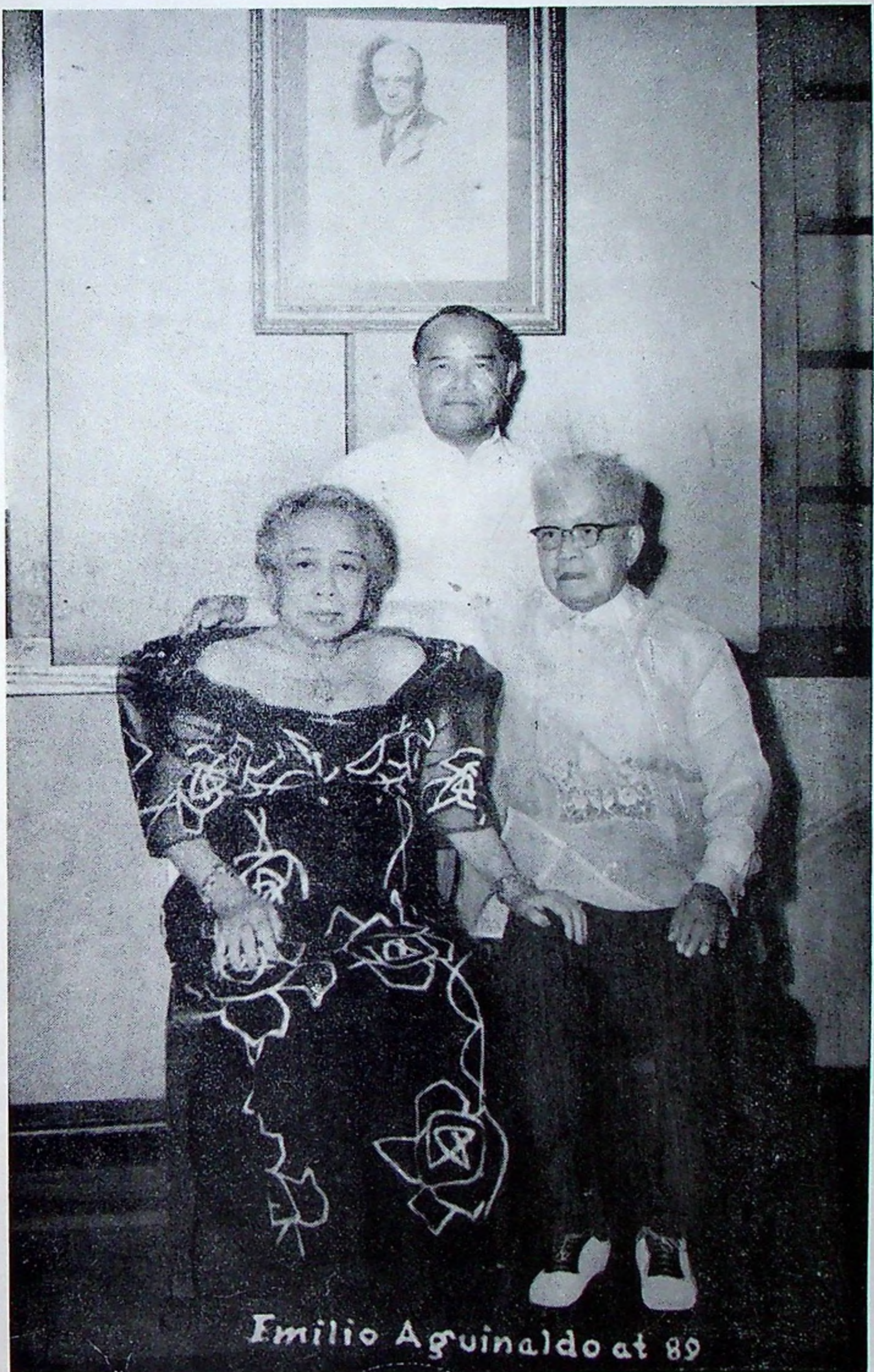
* Reprinted from the *Philippines Free Press,* with due acknowledgment. The unusual interest the article reveals, because it was intimately written by a member of the Aguinaldo family, is the reason for the reprint. The article was published by the *Philippines Free Press,* a highly respected English weekly in Manila, on August 3, 1939, pp. 2-3, 4, 32, 33.



General Aguinaldo with His Wife, Maria Agoncillo, Niece of Don Felipe Agoncillo. Standing in the Background Is Professor Gabriel Fabella, President of the Philippine Historical Association. Picture Taken in 1958.

he has a private entrance. After his shower he invariably pours plenty of alcohol on his head, wetting the hair and scalp thoroughly with it. I suspect that this is the reason why he has very few gray hairs, and I have been suggesting to Mr. Melencio that he follow suit in order to prevent incipient baldness.

About eight o'clock he takes his breakfast consisting mostly of fruit—mango, papaya or bananas, any kind—plenty of oatmeal with fresh carabao milk, two soft-boiled eggs and a cup of chocolate. When he is in a hurry he mixes the oatmeal, the eggs and the chocolate in a soup plate. He says the mixture is great!

Half an hour later, he is on his way to Manila. He seldom fails to go to his office. If he cannot leave early, it is because there are veterans or other people at the house who would like to talk to him. It is a rare morning or evening that he does not have people waiting for him. Either they need his assistance on something or they want to consult him about diverse affairs. Sometimes he is even asked to play the role of soothsayer to locate a lost article. Among the older residents in the environs of Kawit, he holds the reputation of being able to indicate where lost things can be found by their owners. Evidently most of his guesses have turned out correctly.

Many Visitors

To reach the third floor of the Roxas building, where his Manila office is located [now his office is at Calle Lara, San Nicolas district], he prefers not to use the elevator; he walks up the numerous steps for the exercise there is in it. All day at his office he is literally swamped with callers—people of various hues, creeds, and political faiths; people who want recommendations; veterans with their troubles. With what patience he listens to each and every one!

There is no time limit to the calls either. The long-winded sometimes stay the whole morning or afternoon—conferences by instalments—occasionally stopping to allow others to finish their business. It has been suggested that there be strict orders setting time limits for those calls. "It can't be done," is the General's reply, "it might be resented, especially by those of the older generation."

Eats Lunch in Office

He does not go out for lunch. He takes it right in his office, a very simple affair by the way—a glass of milk, toast, and some cookies—day in and day out. He eats it usually at one o'clock, due to the numerous visitors.

Between six and eight o'clock in the evening he gets back home, with not a trace of fatigue in his appearance. He looks for his granddaughters the first thing, gives them whatever he has brought for them, often fruit or other tidbits, chats with them for a time, listens to their stories from school or makes them recite poems they have learned.

After the usual greetings, on days that he does not go to the farm at Timalan, Naic, he goes straight to the bathroom and takes a shower. After that, the alcohol scalp rub is repeated. Before dinner he attends to additional callers, and after dinner also, if there are any. Otherwise, he writes personal letters or writes his diary, or reads the papers or plays chess with either Mr. Melencio or Emilio Jr. Chess is the favorite pastime of the men at the house. Sometimes the games last until eleven o'clock at night. I seldom know who wins.

Dinner for the General consists mostly of fish, vegetables, salads, chicken, and boiled rice with milk. He hardly ever takes meat; it is usually tabooed in his diet. He eats very sparingly, being afraid of indigestion, because every time he gets an attack he becomes dizzy for hours and cannot do anything.

When he goes to the farm at Naic, he usually takes the last train. He motors over to Noveleta to catch it, leaving Kawit as soon as he hears the train approach the Kawit station. He never misses it at Noveleta, for the engine takes water there. At the farm he is always on the go. He is a good hiker, fast and tireless.

He has no vices to speak of. He does not drink, does not smoke, and does not gamble. There are no movies for him if he can avoid them. Since our return from Europe six years ago, he has been to the movies only two or three times.

He never loses his temper. No cuss words for him at all. His only exclamation when somewhat angered is **"Tinamaan ng isang kanin iyan,"** literally, "struck by a grain of rice." He controls his feelings remarkably well.

He is, I often think, too compassionate. When veterans or relatives come to him and plead for aid, they almost invariably get it. Even in the midst of his present financial hardships, he gives ten pesos here and twenty pesos there, unmindful of his own tomorrow. If he himself cannot do the thing asked of him, he goes around and requests someone to help.

Captive birds evoke his pity. How often Emilio Jr., and I cried when he would set free the birds which we had caught with so much hardship in our younger days.

Signs "Vales"

Far be it from him to harbor any grudge. When his bitterest foe comes to him and signifies willingness to patch things up, General Aguinaldo promptly forgets past injuries.

He has a deep sense of civic duty. During the present school year two barrios needed school buildings, but no funds were available. Neither was there any one who would answer for the materials needed. The General was approached, and straightaway he prepared the necessary "vales." If the residents of the barrios concerned do not live up to their word to pay for the materials, there will be additional financial obligations for our "old man."

Every year the very first cedula that is sold at Kawit goes to General Aguinaldo. He has always made it a point to be the first to buy a cedula.

A Farmer

He abhors oppression of any kind whatever. If someone comes to him with a tale of maltreatment on the part of a public official, an investigation of the incident is usually requested from higher authorities.

His hobby is agriculture. He likes the life on the farm. His most recent investment is in pineapples. But this venture suffered the same fate that befell his other agricultural ventures, a well-nigh complete collapse. He has always been unfortunate in agriculture as a matter of fact. Ten years ago he borrowed money from the Philippine National Bank. He invested heavily in hemp and sugar and palay. He bought machinery and he even had an irrigation dam built. When he was about to reap the harvest of his efforts, the hemp plantation was attacked by unknown pests, sugar prices dropped, and the dam for his rice fields was swept away by floods. He never recovered from the tremendous losses. But he is not disheartened. Agriculture he still engages in, but he no longer ventures in any business pursuit.

Speaks Little English

When he has made up his mind to a thing it is seldom that he can be dissuaded from going ahead with it. Exceptionally strong and decisive arguments must be advanced for that purpose; otherwise, he will not yield or change his decision. When attempts were made to prevail upon him to join the non-cooperation movement against Governor-General Wood, he was adamant in his refusal. He said he had already lost faith in the leadership of that movement and that cooperation would triumph in the end, and it did. When subsequent efforts were exerted to disrupt the Veterans' Association he resolved to take the stump in order to explain his stand, even though he had not had much experience in public speaking. He has improved markedly in vernacular oratory since then.

He reads English a little better than he can write or speak it. He simply has not had the time to take it up whole-heartedly. This is one of his regrets in life, because so many Americans, tourists especially, come to call on him, and he always has to use an interpreter. Tagalog is the language he uses most; it is the language of his home. His diary, however, for he keeps one, is written mostly in Spanish.

The home at Kawit is very dear to him. If he is within driving distance at all, he always makes it a point to come home even if he were to get here as late as three or four o'clock in the morning.

Life of Thrills

Unless asked, he does not narrate his personal experiences during the Revolutions. The many dangers he went through, how he was almost caught by the Spaniards when he had only one companion, how in the midst of several encounters he miraculously escaped being fatally shot, are thrilling in the extreme.

When he sided with Governor-General Wood in the political conflict which is still remembered by all, there were attempts made by his opponents to dispossess him of certain parcels of friar lands which had been ceded to him but for which the formal deeds had remained unexecuted for more than six years. He insisted on his right to the possession and to the execution of the deeds of transfer· One day, however, his tenants were besieged by the tenants of the opposing faction armed with bolos and guns, and he himself was made to understand that if he resisted it would be all over with him. Upon hearing that, he immediately went to the spot, approached the armed men and in persuasive language convinced them of the wrong they were about to commit, and they all left, much to the chagrin of their leader.

One day, a certain publisher came to see him to ask for an article especially prepared for his paper. The General, being a very busy man, failed to comply with the request. It was only when the publisher returned to the Islands that General Aguinaldo thought of his promise to prepare the article. Straightaway he went to the publisher and asked that he be forgiven for the neglect.

Some time before I went to the United States, efforts were made to dissuade him from joining Mr· Carl Hamilton in his oil ventures. He flatly refused to do so, saying that he had already given his word to Mr. Hamilton, and he was going to keep it.

Time Will Tell

The Bonifacio and Luna incidents for which he has been so severely criticized by his enemies are affairs he does not want to touch upon if he can avoid them. His invariable response to inquiries is that there are truths which as yet have not been made public, and that history will surely reveal those truths some day. Some of the persons who know the truth are still alive.

About three weeks ago an American visitor at Kawit remarked that General Aguinaldo's is the only house where the figure of a carabao can be found right in front of it facing the street, and he asked the General the reason for putting it there. In a humorous mood, the answer came: "It is because the carabao is the animal that best typifies my character; patient as long as things can be borne, when the limit is reached, I charge."

# # #

AGUINALDO AS PUBLIC SERVANT

By Leopoldo R. Serrano

OUR PEOPLE should know that General Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy, who became one of the most brilliant figures in our history, and who celebrated his ninetieth birthday on March 22, 1959, began his public life at the age of 17, when he was appointed **cabeza de barangay** of Binakayan, one of the barrios of his native town, Kawit.[1]

The next public position that he occupied during the Spanish regime was that of **capitan municipal** of Kawit. Early in January 1895, while on his way home after he had visited Mindoro, he was met at Binakayan by a delegation of the **principales** of the town to inform him of his election (appointment should be the proper term) as the municipal captain of the town. He was still occupying that position when the Philippine Revolution broke out.

In the General Assembly of the Katipunan leaders belonging to the Magdiwang and Magdalo factions in Kabite, which was held in Tejeros, San Francisco de Malabon (now General Trias) on March 22, 1897, General Aguinaldo was elected President of the Revolutionary Government which was established to replace the Katipunan. Again, when the Constituent Assembly that met at Biak-na-bato approved the Biak-na-bato Constitution and established the Philippine Republic (other Filipino historical writers call it the First Republic or the Biak-na-bato Republic) on November 1, 1987, General Aguinaldo became its President. And when it ceased to exist because of the signing of the Pact of Biak-na-bato in December of the same year, he led the Revolutionary leaders in their life of exile in Hongkong, which began when they landed on that British Crown Colony on December 29, 1897.

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[1] Manuel Aguinaldo, "Ilang Mahalagang Tala sa Buhay ni Heneral Aguinaldo," *Aliwan*, March 26, 1958, pp. 16-17.

Returning to the Philippines after the declaration of war between the United States and Spain, General Aguinaldo, in a proclamation issued on May 24, 1898, announced the establishment of the Dictatorial Government, with himself as head. As it was only temporary in character, and pursuant to a decree signed by him on June 23, 1898, the Dictatorial Government was replaced by the Revolutionary Government. This was also headed by him. In turn, the Revolutionary Government was replaced by the First Republic, which was established in Malolos on January 23, 1899. General Aguinaldo, as had been expected by his countrymen, was unanimously elected its President by the Revolutionary Congress that met in Malolos, second seat of the Revolutionary Government, to frame its Constitution and ratify the Declaration of Independence made in Kawit on June 12, 1898.

The last public position held by General Aguinaldo was that of Chairman of the Board of Pensions for Veterans, which position he had to relinquish several years ago because of his age and eye ailment.

So this famous son of Kawit occupied important public positions during three different epochs of our history.

Of course, many of our countrymen, especially those who studied or are still studying in our schools, are acquainted with the role he played during the Revolutionary Period, the most glorious chapter in our history. But do many of them also know about him as a public servant? Was he efficient? Did he take advantage of his position, especially when he occupied the chief magistracy of the land? Did he serve the Government and the people faithfully?

It will be remembered that General Aguinaldo did not finish his secondary education in the College of San Juan de Letran in Manila. Yet, during the most critical period of our history, our people turned to him to lead them, and not to any of those who had completed their university education in Manila or abroad. Surely, there must be reason or reasons for the people's confidence in his leadership.

Edwin Wildman, an American war correspondent, who observed the history-making events that occurred here before and during the Filipino-American War, had the following to say about the attitude of our people toward Aguinaldo in his book titled **Aguinaldo: a Narrative of Filipino Ambition:**

> The people worshipped him and covered his path with flowers, and the natives doffed their hats in reverence. Their love of feasts, music, and dancing was given full rein, and Aguinaldo made triumphal tours in the cities along the railroad line, his appearance arousing the Filipinos to a fervor resembling religious frenzy. Triumphal floral arches were erected, mass meetings of enormous proportions were held, and the prettiest girls in the village, dressed in the colors of the Filipino flag blended with the stars and stripes, were hailed and cheered with delight . . .

As head of the Revolutionary Government and Commander-in-Chief of the Filipino forces challenging the armed might of Spain in the Philippines, General Aguinaldo was reputed to be cold and calculating. When, because of the better discipline, weapons, and organization of the Spaniards, his forces began to suffer one defeat after another in Kabite, the center of Filipino resistance during the first eight months of the Revolution, he transferred his headquarters to the natural fortress of Biak-na-bato in Bulakan. At the head of 300 men, he evaded the vigilance of General Lachambre's Division, and in Puray he inflicted heavy losses on the Spanish columns, under Colonels Dujiols and Primo de Rivera, which were pursuing and trying to intercept his march toward Central Luzon.

Evidently, Aguinaldo's purpose in going to Biak-na-Bato was to continue the war with more vigor and greater determination in another theater of operations: Central Luzon. Anent this shifting of the theater of war during the first phase of the Revolution, he said at the convocation held in the Arellano High School on August 13, 1953:[2]

> And there (at Biak-na-bato) still triumphant, the flag of the Revolutionary Republic was again hoisted and it played with the breeze there until a treaty of peace was concluded with Spain.

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[2] *The Chronicler* (official organ of the Arellano High School, Manila), September, 1953, p. 2.

We know that the first seat of the Revolutionary Government was Bakoor, Kabite. But because of the worsening relations between the Americans and the Filipinos, in view of the fact that the former had deprived the latter of the right to enter the Walled City when Manila was surrendered by the Spaniards to the Americans on August 13, 1898, General Aguinaldo moved his capital to Malolos, Bulakan, on September 10, 1898. He was well aware of the fact that Bakoor was at the mercy of the American big guns at Kabite and also easily accessible by land force from Manila. The guns of Dewey's ships could easily reduce it to ashes. Indeed, Bakoor lay "right in the lion's jaw should the lion happen to get hungry," as an American writer of the period said.

General Aguinaldo's patriotism and integrity as the leader of his people were put to a severe test when he received ₱400,000 from the Spanish Government in accordance with the Pact of Biak-na-bato. In a statement issued in Kawit on September 3, 1929, he made the following revelation:[3]

> I make it known that the amount of ₱400,000 exclusively belonged to me, in accordance with the conditions of the Treaty of Peace of Biak-na-bato.
>
> However, moved by the desire to save our country from the state of vassalage, I invested said amount for the resumption of the Revolution to win for our people their precious liberties.

The above revelation of General Aguinaldo was corroborated by Miguel Morayta, a well-known Spanish liberal and friend of the Filipino reformers in Europe, who stated:[4]

> Aguinaldo is a singular man. On surrendering, he asked nothing but reforms for his country; but as he was offered money, he accepted and received it, and far from profiting from it or dividing it among those close to him, he lived in poverty in Hongkong, telling all that that money could not be touched because it belonged to the insurrection and should be kept so that it could be used when they would take to the field again.

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[3] *Lingguhan ng Mabuhay,* April 15, 1934.

[4] Mauricio, *La Gran Traición* (Barcelona, 1899), footnote, p. 81.

According to General Jose Alejandrino, "there had not been until now in our history another instance of a man who being in a foreign country and in possession of ₱400,000 in a bank under his name, the equivalent of more than one million pesos now, had the integrity and the unselfishness to return to his country to expose his life for an ideal which is the **ideal of his people and his race.**"[5]

It is very clear that General Aguinaldo, during their exile in Hongkong, made his companions agree not to touch the money received from the Spanish Government and to live mostly on the private funds they brought with them and the interest of the money deposited in the bank. Follows General Alejandrino's description of the kind of life they had in Hongkong:[6]

> He (Aguinaldo) leased a big house where all his companions, together with the families of those who had any, were given the right to free board and lodging. Malvar, who came later with his family, stayed there. Those who preferred to live somewhere else were given a monthly pension of twelve pesos each. Almost all were forced to live in the house which they called General Headquarters inasmuch as with twelve pesos monthly, it was completely impossible elsewhere to pay for board, lodging and laundry, and still buy cigarettes. Only those who had private income could do so, and those were few. The monthly pensions of twelve pesos was not extended to those of us who were already in Hongkong when they arrived, irrespective of the reason for their stay in the Colony. However, none of those already in the Colony when they arrived intimated their desire to be helped like those who recently arrived.
>
> I am little inclined to admiration, because I consider that sacrifices suffered in compliance with a duty are the most natural things in the world, but I could not help but admire those young men as I constantly saw them attired in woolen suits, sleeping on the floor, eating miserably, devoid of all forms of recreation, but always contented, buoyant in spirit and resigned.

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[5] Jose Alejandrino, *The Price of Freedom* (Manila, 1949), p. 217.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82.

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General Aguinaldo's integrity as a leader is shown by the following statement of a rich Chinese merchant in Manila who, according to General Alejandrino, "was really corrupt and a very able corrupter" at the time Aguinaldo was at the height of his power and fame:[7]

> That Aguinaldo no person, is angel; I speak to him of a business where we make much money. I provide brains, the labor, the money; he alone put up saliva, but he does not like. That man, him no person, that angel.

One important thing that should be mentioned about Aguinaldo is that, as head of the Government, he succeeded in bringing about the unity of our people, sometimes by "resorting to peaceful means and in other instances by using energetic measures," as one of his contemporaries said. And when the Filipino-American War began, the American troops, much to their surprise, found themselves fighting a united people. The war, which they had expected to last several weeks, dragged on for more than three years and caused heavy losses to both sides.

In Bakoor or Malolos, General Aguinaldo was visited and interviewed by several American war correspondents, observers, or ranking officers of the United States Armed Forces in the Philippines. But they could not get anything from him that would be valuable to the United States Government should the Filipinos refuse to accept American sovereignty over the Philippines. Mr. McCutcheon wrote:[8]

> Nothing can be determined by interviewing Aguinaldo, who is hard to see, and who says nothing when he talks. In the number of interviews which I have had with him he has never said anything which had the slightest value. On one occasion he did give the distribution and strength of his different troops, but this information was so manifestly wrong that it was useless. In respect of keeping his own affairs and the movements of his troops and his sentiments regarding the Americans strictly to himself, Aguinaldo is a conspicuous success.

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 227.

[8] John T. McCutcheon, "An American in Old Manila," *Philippines Review*, May, 1955.

How different Aguinaldo, as a leader, was from some high officials of the present Republic, who, when interviewed or seen at their swanky offices by some American or foreign officials or visitors, often become loquacious and reveal even confidential matters about our country and government.

No historian will attempt to say that General Aguinaldo was a swivel-chair President. He was not. He often left Malolos, as Mr. Wildman stated in his work cited at the beginning of this article, in order to acquaint himself with the problems confronting the government. During the Filipino-American War, he was often seen visiting our defense positions and encouraging our embattled soldiers.

In one of the early days of October 1898, he was invited by General Tomas Mascardo, military commander of Pampanga, to visit that province. He went there at the head of a big delegation that left the railroad station of Malolos at nine o'clock in the morning. Those who accompanied him were: General Pantaleon Garcia, commander of the Fourth War Zone; Secretary Gregorio Araneta; Dr. Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, director of Diplomacy; Pablo Tekson, secretary of the Malolos Congress; General Isidoro Torres; Aguinaldo's staff; the Secretary of Finance; the acting secretary of War; the director of Public Instruction; members of the Malolos Congress; and some foreign visitors.[9]

Again, on December 24, 1898, at the head of another delegation, he left Malolos by train at four o'clock in the morning to visit the towns near Manila. He was accompanied by his staff, General Antonio Luna, General Gregorio del Pilar, General Isidoro Torres, and some other high officials of the Revolutionary Government and the Army. At the railroad station at Kalookan, they were met by many people led by the local officials, with a brass band and flags. They also visited Marikina, San Juan del Monte, and Santa Ana. Then they proceeded to Kawit.[10]

After the rupture of relations between the Americans and the Filipinos, General Aguinaldo made frequent visits to the war front. On February 12, 1899, accompanied by Pablo Tekson, he visited Hagonoy and Marilao.[11] Two days later, he had a long conference with the Chief of Operations North of Manila, General Antonio Luna.[12] On February 18, 1899, he went to Polo where General Luna transferred his headquarters after the fall of Kalookan on February 10, 1899. Reason: he desired to be familiar with our defense positions there.[13] On March 10, 1899, accompanied by his staff and escorted by the Presidential Guard, Aguinaldo made an inspection of our lines in several places. He gave definite instructions to remedy some defects and to make a thorough study of the terrain.[14]

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[9] *El Heraldo de la Revolución,* October 13, 1898.

[10] *Ibid.,* Dec. 29, 1898.

[11] *La República Filipina,* Feb. 17, 1899.

After the fall of Malolos on March 31, 1899, he did not stop visiting our lines. Follows a report in one of the dailies of the times.[15]

> The President of the Republic does not rest in his task of inspecting personally the lines of defense. He often holds conferences with the valiant general-in-chief, Mr. Luna, who always manages to provide the soldiers with all possible conveniences of life during the campaign, compatible with the most rigid military discipline.

One criticism hurled against General Aguinaldo as President is that in his Cabinet there were "men who neither had nor could have any initiative because they were subservient to the will of the President who had assumed all the powers of the State, making himself in fact a dictator when the war was declared."[16]

But it will be remembered that, in a decree issued by Aguinaldo on January 2, 1899, or more than a month after the rupture of relations between the Filipinos and the Americans, he created the "Council of Government" to help him tackle the problems of administration.[17] It was composed of the following members: Apolinario Mabini, secretary of Foreign Affairs; General Teodoro Sandiko, secretary of the Interior; General Baldomero Aguinaldo, secretary of War and Navy; General Mariano Trias, secretary of Finance; and Engracio Gonzaga, secretary of

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[12] *Loc. cit.*

[13] *Ibid.*, February 21, 1899.

[14] *Ibid.*, March 11, 1899.

[15] *Ibid.*, April 22, 1899.

[16] Jose Alejandrino, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

[17] *El Heraldo de la Revolución*, January 4, 1899.

Development. The Council had to meet once a week at the Office of the President to discuss the general trend of events here and abroad and the problems confronting the country. The secretaries or members could also meet on the days designated by the President to exchange impressions and to stress the unity and harmony of the offices under each of them.

As to the deliberations in the Malolos Congress, Aguinaldo said in a speech he delivered in the Union College of Manila in 1939 that he did not intervene in them. There were no yes-men in the Malolos Congress, according to him. He cited the vote on the provisions of the Constitution about the separation of Church and State. After several votes, which had resulted in a deadlock, those in favor finally won by a plurality of only one vote.[18]

When Pedro A. Paterno went to Biak-na-bato to discuss peace terms with General Aguinaldo, the latter summoned to Biak-na-bato, for consultation, his generals then scattered in the provinces of Central and Southern Luzon. In fact, even when he was a prisoner of the Americans in Malacanang Palace, following his capture in Palanan on March 23, 1901, before issuing a manifesto calling upon his countrymen in the field to lay down their arms, he still wanted to call a meeting of his generals fighting the Americans and suggested the return of Mabini from his exile in Guam to sound out their views.

After the liberation of our country from the Japanese, General Aguinaldo, although burdened by old age and troubled by eye ailment, accepted the position of Chairman of the Board on Pensions for Veterans, believing that while he had still strength it was his duty to serve his living former comrades-in-arms. That was the last public position he occupied, which he relinquished several years ago, following the advice of his physician.

It has been shown in this article that General Aguinaldo, as a public servant, did what, under the circumstances, he could have possibly done for his country and people. As he said in an interview more than half a century ago, he always endeavored "to serve the people faithfully."[19]

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[18] *Ang Ebangheliko,* October, 1939, pp. 17-18.

[19] *The Manila Times,* October 7, 1907.

AGUINALDO ON RIZAL — AND "THREE AGUINALDO TALES"

By Alfonso P. Santos

THIS ARTICLE deals with another side of General Emilio Aguinaldo and hopes to add to Aguinaldo literature. The first part is about his views on Dr. Jose Rizal, and the second, which is the lighter side, consists of folk-stories about him.

I.

General Aguinaldo's views on Dr. Jose Rizal were known when he was interviewed by Lilia M. Sales, an alumna of the University of the Philippines. In that interview, he said that although he was a contemporary of Rizal, he did not know him personally. "I did not even have the opportunity to see him or to have any correspondence with him, but I admire his greatness."

He said that Andres Bonifacio urged him to save Rizal from his execution in Bagumbayan. Bonifacio told him that there were one hundred brave **Katipuneros** in Manila at that time ready to help him snatch Rizal from his executioners by crawling through the thickets of Malate and Ermita to the Luneta; but on the twenty-eighth day of December, 1896, two days before the execution, Paciano, the older brother of Rizal, arrived at Kawit, Cavite, and told General Aguinaldo and Andres Bonifacio that it was not possible to save Rizal any more because the **Katipuneros** had left Manila for Balintawak.

After the day of the execution, Rizal's mother and sisters, together with Josephine Bracken, fled to the house of General Aguinaldo at Kawit for protection because they were afraid of further investigation and reprisal by the Spaniards. The General brought them to an **hacienda** in Barrio Tejero, Cavite, and made Paciano Rizal a general of a group of **Katipuneros**. There the family lived in hiding for some time.

General Aguinaldo was asked if he believed that Rizal shifted from Masonry to Catholicism. His answer was "No." He said, "Why should a man very much opposed to the practices of the friars return to their religion?"

General Aguinaldo did not believe, either, that Rizal confessed to a Jesuit priest before he was executed. He said that there is now a document which had been shown by the Archbishop as proof that Rizal returned to Catholicism. The document, which is alleged to have been signed by Rizal and by the head of the civil guards who executed him, states that Rizal retracted.

"But if it is true that Rizal confessed to the Jesuit, why should the document contain the signature of the head of the civil guards and not that of the Jesuit to whom he was supposed to have confessed?" the General said; then he added, "And why should the Archbishop show it only now when it was signed more than a half century ago?"

He strongly emphasized that Rizal was a Freemason and not a Catholic when he died.

When General Aguinaldo was asked if he believed that Rizal really married Josephine Bracken, he answered: "I do not believe Rizal married Josephine. Josephine was only a sweetheart of Rizal and not a wife." Then he cited proof that in Rizal's "Ultimo Adios," there is a line dedicated to Josephine Bracken which says, "Adios dulce estrangera, mi amiga, mi alegria." "If she was really his wife," the General concluded, "Rizal should have written 'Adios mi esposa'."

The above opinion of General Aguinaldo on the relationship between Rizal and Josephine Bracken is borne out by a similar view from Rizal's elder sister Lucia, born 1857.

Lucia Rizal-Herbosa, according to her son Estanislao Herbosa, who was interviewed by Maro Santaromana, a journalist, while she was still living, had persistently averred that no marriage had been performed between her brother Jose and Josephine. Mr. Herbosa said that on the eve of December 30, 1896, his mother and other immediate relatives of Rizal were with the hero, and that not for a moment did they leave him. It was not possible, then, that a marriage ceremony had been performed without their seeing it. Incidentally, that was the night which Josephine Bracken claimed that she and Rizal were married.[1]

II.

There are three interesting tales about General Aguinaldo in the following paragraphs. The first of them is about him and "the tall Spaniard," the second is about him and his carabao, and the third is about him and his guardian **kapre**.

Alfredo Flojo of Pasay, Rizal, is the authority for the first tale. He said that he heard it from his father, who in turn heard it from a gathering of **veteranos** in 1935 when General Aguinaldo was campaigning for the presidency of the Philippine Commonwealth. This story took place during the Philippine Revolution against Spain. It happened in Biak-na-bato.

The **Revolucionarios** were waiting at the frontline for the Spaniards. In the meantime General Aguinaldo had gone to the rear to attend to some urgent matters. In his absence, he delegated a major to take his place. When the sun had risen overhead, the clear horizon was disturbed by moving objects. The Spaniards had arrived and were advancing swiftly. In a short while they were within rifle range, and yet they kept coming.

The Filipinos fixed their sights and waited for the pistol signal from the major to fire. By this time, the Spaniards were already within a stone's throw. Then suddenly the long awaited shot rang out. As quick as a reflex, a volley of bullets followed. Six Spaniards dropped dead. The others retreated.

The Filipinos waited again. In mid-afternoon, the enemies returned. This time they were more cautious and their advance was slower. But this was not what surprised the Filipinos. There was a tall figure of a colonel in front of the main body of troops. He was amazingly confident and undisturbed in the way he advanced.

Thinking that he was an emissary of peace, the Filipinos did not fire at him. He stopped when he was about a shot away from them and mounted a big rock. Then he drew his sword and raised it in his left hand. Shouting to the men behind him, he whipped out his pistol with his right hand and began firing at the Filipinos.

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[1] Both the interviews of Lilia Sales and Maro Santaromana are in "Rizal in Legends," an unpublished book by the author.

As if awakened from a short spell, the Filipinos rubbed their eyes, for they could not believe such Spanish courage displayed before them. This man was braver than all the rest they had faced before. His tall and statue-like figure on the rock caused their fingers to freeze on the trigger.

The shots ended the spell. The Filipinos answered with their rifles. All of them aimed at the tall figure, but when the smoke cleared away he was still there with his hands raised and shouting. The soldiers behind him advanced quickly at his command. They ran from boulder to boulder, firing at every Filipino head they could see. As if unmindful of death, they kept coming in spite of their casualties. For each Spaniard that dropped dead, two or three succeeded in his place. The Filipinos held their position and picked off most of the easy targets. The enemies were superior in arms and number, but the rocks of Biak-na-bato protected them.

The sun was already setting when General Aguinaldo returned. The fighting was still going on fiercely. After estimating the situation briefly, he defied a hail of Spanish bullets in order to get to the major. Cool and calculating, he looked at the tall Spaniard, who was only a few hundred meters away. The major became uneasy. Then with an inscrutable smile on his lips, General Aguinaldo asked for a bullet, despite the fact that he had many rounds with him.

The major's alarm became worse, but he gave the bullet asked for. With the smile still on his lips, General Aguinaldo placed the bullet in his mouth. Then he brought it out and blew at it as one would blow at hot coffee. Placing it in his own pistol, he took a careful aim at the statue-like figure and fired.

The major looked in the direction where he had last seen the tall Spaniard and saw nothing but the rock. The general had shot him dead. Like the men of Magellan in Mactan, the remaining Spaniards ran away after their leader was killed. Thus the battle of Biak-na-Bato was ended, and its history became a legend.

The second tale will probably make the carabao dearer to every Filipino because of its significance in Philippine history.

When you go to Kawit, Cavite, and pass by the house of General Aguinaldo, you will see, carved on the front part of it, the image of a carabao. This image has a story common among the simple people. It shows how the folk-mind has glorified the greatest Revolutionary leader of the Philippines and the chief draft animal of the country.

According to this tale, General Aguinaldo rode on his carabao instead of on his horse in some of the battles he fought. He was thus ignored by his enemies, because they thought that the man on the back of the slow-moving animal was only an inconsequential farmer instead of a military leader.

For instance, one day, in the battle of Zapote, a barrio of Bacoor, Cavite, many of the Revolutionists had already fallen. The dead lay scattered in the field, the situation seemed hopeless, and the remaining troops were feeling discouraged· Then suddenly General Aguinaldo was seen coming on the back of his carabao. Some Spaniards fired at him out of curiosity because of the slowness of the animal, but no bullet hit him because, according to some people, he was protected by a powerful **anting-anting** (talisman).

At once his men were inspired and they fought very bravely with confidence. Their morale went up and they advanced daringly, with their leader on his carabao. Finally, they broke through the line of their enemies, overcame superiority in arms and number, until the remaining Spaniards were driven out of the battlefield.

The common people say that when General Aguinaldo proclaimed the first Republic of the Philippines at Kawit, he once more rode on a carabao. He immortalized it in an image which we see today carved on the front part of his house in Kawit.

It is commonly heard among the simple folk also, according to the third tale, that General Aguinaldo and his house are being guarded by a **kapre** (a giant capable of making himself invisible at will). This **kapre** has been living unseen for a long time under the bridge not very far away from the house. At times in the past, during moonlight nights, he could be seen smoking on a branch of one of the fire trees there.

Once during the Revolution, the Spanish soldiers tried to enter Kawit. When they were about to cross the bridge, they were stopped by a long leg stretched across it. This leg belonged to the **kapre**. The Spaniards thought that they could remove it by shooting it. But when they fired at the leg, the bullets flattened and bounced back. Finally, they gave up their attempt to enter Kawit, and the house of General Aguinaldo was saved although it was hit by some of the stray ammunitions.

The common people still believe that the **kapre** is keeping watch over it and over the General himself, especially when both are in danger. The giant imposes death on anyone who steals anything from the house.[2]

The above stories demonstrate how a great man could become a legend when his deeds are told and retold by the simple folk who interweave his life with their own existence. No doubt more tales about General Aguinaldo will be woven as he recedes farther and farther from the present.

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[2] The three tales are in "Hero Tales of the Philippines," Vol. I, an unpublished book by the author.

# # #

Bust Statue of General Aguinaldo Donated by the Philippine Historical Asosciation in March, 1959.

TO BE GREAT IS TO BE SIMPLE

Emilio P. Virata

I HAVE ALWAYS looked up to General Emilio Aguinaldo as the Grand Old Man of the Revolution and liberator of his country. He freed the Philippines from foreign domination and proclaimed the First Philippine Republic in 1898 of which he became the first and only elected president. But when he declared war against America the following year he lost his country's independence. Persistent plea, however, by our leaders won for us its return on July 4, 1946. General Aguinaldo at ninety, is still hale and hearty, enjoying the freedom for which he fought in the fields of battle more than sixty years ago.

With the triumph of the Revolution a new era dawned in the Philippines. For almost half a century under the tutelage and guidance of America we ran a popular government, opened public schools, built roads, introduced sanitation, developed agriculture, promoted commerce and industry, and improved our standard of living. I received my share of the bounty when I was made to attend the public schools, given an opportunity to finish a University career, and elected to serve in the Legislature.

It was during my incumbency as Representative from Cavite to the Philippine Legislature when I met General Emilio Aguinaldo personally. The meeting place was at his sickbed in the Philippine General Hospital. The year was 1920. President Quezon wanted to help the ailing patriot and sent me to him to find out what his attitude would be. The result of my mission was the enactment of the Aguinaldo Pension Law in 1920 which granted the Revolutionary leader an allowance of ₱12,000.00 a year for life. The law was repealed in 1939, but reenacted in 1957. From that acquaintance developed a closer and more intimate relation between the General and myself. He considers our relation as friendship for which I am flattered. To me it is respect and admiration for the hero.

Ambeth Ocampo

Three or four years ago, he took me into his confidence and revealed to me some episodes of the Revolution heretofore unpublished. They will appear in the **History of the Revolution** in two volumes which he is writing. He had me elected General Secretary of the "Asociación de los Veteranos de la Revolución" over which he presides, consults with me on important matters, and asks me to help him run the "Asociación" composed of about fifteen thousand aging veterans.

The General is a good friend. He gives evidence of his friendship outwardly and inwardly. He goes out of his way to be helpful to a friend. To his visitor he is all courtesy· He entertains him, offers him everything he has, and accompanies him when he leaves, as far as the gate of his home, or until he is safe in his car.

The General is not overbearing — he is very democratic and humble, too. He holds no grudge and is not vindictive, although ambitious and persevering. I have yet to hear him speak ill of anyone who is not present. Sometimes he forgets himself and tries to impose, but when his attention is called he listens and desists.

In General Emilio Aguinaldo I discovered that to be great is to be simple. To win friends is to trust.

# # #

HEGEL ON HISTORY

In Hegel's interpretation of history it is the nation, rather than the individual or any other grouping of the individuals, that forms the significant unit. The genius or spirit of the nation (*Volksgeist*), working through individuals but largely in independence of their conscious will and intention, is the true creator of art, law, morals, and religion. Hence the history of civilization is a succession of national cultures in which each nation brings its peculiar and timely contribution to the whole of human achievement. It is the national state, moreover, in which this inborn impulse of the nation to create reaches self-conscious and national expression. — George A. Sabine, *History of Political Theory* (1937), p. 621.

REMINISCENCES . . . *

RESOURCEFULNESS

Aguinaldo made monkeys out of the American officers for many months. Especially Major [later General] Peyton C. Marsh had cause to remember the astuteness and trickery of the Sly Old Fox who outmaneuvered him on many occasions and finally eluded him altogether, escaping into the hills where his whereabouts were unknown for several months. Aguinaldo was constantly on the defensive and with his outnumbered army could only give battle to retreat, farther and farther into the interior and finally into the mountains.

The story of Aguinaldo's escape from the mountains where he had taken refuge after his army had been reduced by desertion and capture to a mere handful of officers and loyal men shows his resourcefulness and daring.

Constantly pressed up the mountain trail, Aguinaldo time and again escaped from seemingly impossible situations. Finally he outwitted Major Marsh altogether and slipped into the wild Kalinga country, inhabited by pagan headhunters. Here he hid until word reached him by his native spies that the Americans were closing in on him from all sides.

Colonel Cronin sent an expedition of two hundred men from Cando, while from the east side closed in the other jaw of the pincers. In addition a colored regiment stationed in the Cagayan valley had orders to guard against Aguinaldo slipping out by the river.

The colored men swore that Aguinaldo would never pass out through the sector they guarded. One day a bamboo barge came in sight, slowly making its way down the Cagayan river past the American outpost. Immediately a guard rowed out to investigate.

On the barge he discovered two natives and a wooden coffin. There had been an epidemic of cholera and small pox in the river valley and he was not surprised to see the coffin, but he and his companions were deathly afraid of the disease. When the guard came close the natives waved him away, shouting "Cholera! cholera!"

This was too much for the guard and his official duty to investigate was immediately swallowed up by his fear. The raft drifted

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* Sanuel E. Kane, "The Sly Old Fox of the Philippines," *The Sunday Tribune*, Manila, July 2, 1933.

on its funeral way housing the very much alive body of General Aguinaldo.

By this strategy Aguinaldo changed his location in the mountains and all trace of him was lost.

After Aguinaldo and I became friends we often talked of the old army days.

"Governor," he said one day, "do you remember the church bells ringing when your battalion entered a town?"

"Sure. Four or five miles away. We never could decide whether they were warning you or welcoming us."

"Both," said the general laconically. Then he smiled. "I had a sentinel posted in each tower with orders to ring the bells when he spotted United States troops. Of course that gave us warning to get on the move. At the same time the president and officials of the town had orders to hurry out to meet you, profess undying friendship with lengthy ceremony and protestations of good will, thereby delaying the battalion an hour or so as long as possible, giving us a chance to be miles ahead."

For a moment I was angry, thinking of my sore feet and empty stomach. Then I burst out laughing. "You win," I said.

"No!" said the general quickly. "You win. We have no arms, no ammunition, no food, no money; the men, except a few, deserted. But God couldn't blame them for that," he said seriously.

Then he slapped me on the shoulder, his usually genial self: "Amigo, it is for the best, perhaps."

CAPTURE OF AGUINALDO

Colonel Funston was stationed in the province of Tayabas [later Quezon]. He had under his command the Twentieth Kansas Volunteers and several companies of native Macabebe scouts, the hereditary enemies of the Tagalogs from time immemorial.

One of the Macabebe patrols captured a native courier and on him was found a letter addressed to Aguinaldo from an insurrecto officer. In the letter he stated that he would gather together his company and join Aguinaldo at his hiding place near the village of Palanan.

The letter was immediately turned over to Colonel Funston who worked out a scheme he thought would be smooth enough to capture the wily chief. His plan was to disguise a company of Macabebe scouts as the expected insurrectos which he and his aide would accompany as prisoners, presumably to be turned over to Aguinaldo.

The plan was secretly laid and quietly carried out. With their hands tied, Colonel Funston and his aide stumbled along with the disguised scouts. Upon nearing Aguinaldo's camp, a runner was sent ahead to advise him of the long awaited company. The runner informed Aguinaldo that two American officers had been taken prisoners and were being brought along.

Shortly, the disguised company of Macabebe scouts marched up to the plaza of the little town of Palanan, deeply hidden in the wild mountains and surrounded by just as wild natives. Aguinaldo inspected the company from the window of his quarters and discovered nothing to arouse his suspicion. With his staff and aides he came down to review the company and see the prisoners.

When Aguinaldo came near, the guards covered the party with their guns and Colonel Funston, with his hands now free, strode forward and called on him to surrender. There was nothing else he could do. Colonel Funston had outwitted Aguinaldo, something no other officer had been able to do.

Aguinaldo took the oath of allegiance to the United States, and, believing that the insurrection was now futile, called on his fellowers to do likewise. He was trusted to keep his word and was allowed to retire to his old home in the town of Cavite Viejo. In every way he kept his oath and in addition to being the most noted citizen of the Islands, is the most respected and trusted by both natives and American officials.

# # #

SECRET SERVICE FUNDS?

Aguinaldo's party returned from Singapore to Hongkong, probably at U.S. secret service funds expense, and from there sailed to Manila on Dewey's dispatch boat McCulloch, also without cost. Dewey viewed them as auxiliaries provided by his government, for these reasons, not as allies.

—Austin Craig, Feb. 10, 1929

SPANISH ORIGINAL OF AGUINALDO'S "PROCLAMATION OF A STATE OF WAR" AGAINST THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

(From the Newspaper, **La Republica Filipina,** Feb. 7, 1899.)

A las nueve de la noche de este día he recibido de la Estación de Kalookan un parte comunicándome que las fuerzas americanas atacaron sin previo aviso ni motivo justificado nuestro campamento en San Juan del Monte y nuestras fuerzas que guarnecen los blockhouses de los alrededores de Manila, causando bajas entre nuestros soldados, los cuales en vista de tan inesperada agresión y del decidido empeño de los agresores hubieron de defenderse hasta que se generalizó el fuego por toda la linea.

Yo deploro como el que mas esta ruptura de hostilidades: tengo la conciencia tranquila de haberla querido evitar a todo trance, procurando conservar con todas mis fuerzas la amistad del Ejercito de ocupación aun a costa de no pocas humillaciones y muchos derechos sacrificados.

Pero tengo el deber ineludible de mantener integro el honor nacional y del ejercito tan injustamente atacado por los que preciandose de amigos y libertadores, pretenden dominarnos en sustitucion de los españoles, como demuetran los agravios enumerados en mi manifiesto de ocho de Enero ultimo; los continuos atropellos y violentas exacciones cometidos contra el vecindario de Manila; las conferencias inútiles y todos mis esfuerzos frustados en pro de la paz y la concordia.

Ante esta provocación que no esperaba, solicitado por los deberes que me imponen el honor y el patriotismo y la defensa de la nación a mi encomendada, invocando a Dios por testigo de mi buena fe y de la rectitud de mis intenciones.

Ordeno y mando:

1º Quedan rotas la paz y las relaciones de amistad entre las fuerzas filipinas y las americanas de ocupación, las cuales serán tratadas como enemigos dentro de los limites prescritos por las leyes de la guerra.

2º Serán tratados como prisoneros de guerra los soldados americanos que fueran cogidos por las fuerzas filipinas.

3º Este Bando será notificado a los señores Consules acreditados en Manila y al Congreso, para que acuerde a suspension de las guarantias constitucionales y la consiguiente declaración de estado de guerra.

Dado en Malolos a 4 de Febrero de 1899.

Emilio Aguinaldo
General en Jefe

# # #

AGUINALDO'S PROCLAMATION OF A STATE OF WAR AGAINST THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, FEBRUARY 4, 1899. (TRANSLATED BY PROF. G. FORES-GANZON FROM THE SPANISH ORIGINAL, AS PRINTED IN THE NEWSPAPER, LA REPUBLICA FILIPINA, FEBRUARY 7, 1899.)

At nine o'clock p.m. today, I received an official communication from the Caloocan Station that the American forces attacked without previous notice or justifiable cause our camp in San Juan del Monte and our troops which garrisoned the blockhouses of the environs of Manila, [thus] causing casualties among our soldiers. In view of such an unexpected act of aggression and of the determined steps taken by the aggressors, they [our soldiers] were forced to defend themselves until the firing became generalized in the entire line.

I regret, more than anything, this outbreak of hostilities. My conscience is clear in having tried to avoid it at all cost, endeavoring with all my might to pursue friendship for the army of occupation even at the cost of not a few indignities and the sacrifice of many rights.

But I have the inescapable duty to uphold the honor of the nation and of the army so unjustly attacked by those who, pretending to be friends and liberators, wish to dominate us in place of the Spaniards, as shown by the affronts listed in my proclamation dated last January 8: the constant abuses and violent acts committed against the inhabitants of Manila; the futile conferences and all my efforts in favor of peace and harmony [which have been] frustrated.

In view of this provocation which I did not expect, impelled by duties which honor, patriotism, and the defense of the nation impose upon me, and invoking God as witness of my good faith and of the uprightness of my intentions, I hereby declare and order:

1. That peace and friendly relations are severed between the Filipino forces and the American forces of occupation [and the latter] should be henceforth treated as enemies according to the laws of war.

2. American soldiers captured by the Filipino soldiers shall be treated as prisoners of war.
3. This proclamation shall be communicated to the consuls accredited in Manila and to the Congress so that the suspension of constitutional guaranties and the consequent declaration of a state of war be known.

Issued at Malolos, February, 4, 1899.

EMILIO AGUINALDO
Commander-in-chief

# # #

WHITEMAN'S BURDEN

Peace had come, bringing with it a protectorate over Cuba, and the possession of Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines, in addition to the Hawaiian Islands annexed during the war. Over and above the $20,000,000 paid for this liability in Eastern Asia, the Spanish-American War cost 2910 lives, $250,000,000 war costs, plus the costs of suppressing a two years' native insurrection against American dominion in the Philippines (1000 lives and $170,000,000). It has cost since then to date [1935] $919,369,440.38 in pensions, but that cost is due to material profits and losses on account of the Filipinos with the people of the United States since the occupation of the islands, showed only losses for the Americans, profits for the Filipinos. There was also the long accumulation of ill-will against American sovereignty, despite its good works.

The Senate of the United States ratified [the Treaty of Paris ceding the Philippines to the United States] by the narrow margin of two votes: 57-27 (February 6, 1899). After the final vote on the ratification, it rejected a resolution promising ultimate independence to the Philippines. This resolution met defeat by the casting vote of the Vice President, who thus won himself a remembered place in history: Garret A. Hobart is the name. Meanwhile Aguinaldo and his heroic followers had determined to fight it out to the end against the American occupants. President McKinley and his party leaders, and the Republican newspapers had appealed successfully in the Congressional elections of 1898 to return Republican to Congress so that the task of the peace Commissioners in dealing with Spain would be the easier. In the Senate, Senator Lodge, leader of the imperialists, said that to reject the treaty would be to repudiate the President and humiliate the country in the eyes of the civilized world. The President in fact had proclaimed sovereignty over the islands already (December 21, 1898) before the Senate voted on the treaty.

—Samuel Flagg Bemis, "Great Aberration," *A Diplomatic History of the United States* (1942), pp. 471-474.

POETIC TRIBUTE IN TAGALOG TO GENERAL EMILIO AGUINALDO, PRESIDENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT, WRITTEN SIXTY YEARS AGO BY A STAFF MEMBER OF THE REVOLUTION'S ORGAN, **EL HERALDO DE LA REVOLUCION.**

SA KAGALANGGALANG NA PRESIDENTE
NANG
REPUBLIKA PILIPINA

(*El Heraldo de la Revolución*, Disyembre 25, 1898)

Dahil sa dangal mong halos di malulan
sa nilapadlapad nitong Kapuluan
sampung mga tao sa gubat ang tahan
ay nangaaakit sumuyo't gumalang.

Di lalo na kaming nakatatalastas
nang karapatan mo sa tinamong palad;
kaya nga't sa aming puso'y nakalimbag
paggalang sa iyong dalisay at wagas.

Napapanahon ngayong aming ipatanghal
sa kalakhan ninyo ang boong paggalang,
palibhasa'y ito ang dakilang araw
na sa boong mundo'y dapat ipagdiwang.

Manga puso namin sa iyo'y umiibig
alay sa dangal mo na inilalakip
sa pagbating ito't banal naming nais
sa kapayapaan buhay mo'y lumawig.

Dangal naming lahat na tapat mong kampon
ang manatili ka sa mahal mong tungkol,
tangi sa ligayang ikaw ang may-ampon
dito sa **Heraldo de la Revolución.**

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ADDENDA:

I. BOOKS, PERIODICALS, AND NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

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# # #

BOOK REVIEWS

Southeast Asia in Perspective. By John Kerry King.
(New York: MacMillan Co. 1956. xx+309 pp. ₱10.)

William W. Allison

In the decade since the Communist regime came to power in China, the focus of world affairs has shifted perceptibly to Southeast Asia. This vast land mass which forms the subcontinent of Asia, long under the domination of Western powers and presently astir with the burdens of its newly-won governments, shares the unenviable position with the Middle East as one of the hotly contested areas of the world in which the major powers are fully engaged in a cold war to bolster their side.

A lucid appraisal of the role of the United States in this critical region has been ably and critically prepared by an American scholar, Dr. John Kerry King, in his book *Southeast Asia in Perspective.* In this important work we have at once a concise survey of events that have led up to the new status of Southeast Asia, the background of the resurgent forces of nationalism and anti-colonialism, and the peculiarly intricate task the United States faces here. A valuable contribution of this study is the view that the United States must accommodate the forces that are seeking to develop and promote the interests of heretofore subjugated peoples.

The problem of viewing in true perspective such an array of uneven nations with a conglomeration of languages, races, religions, and value-systems requires a highly perceptive compression of materials and a selectivity of data that admittedly leave much to be desired. While a student of the political scene in the United States or Germany may view his subject as a composite study, Southeast Asia, by its very nature of fragmented development, defies a unified consideration. Although Indonesia and Malaya share a common experience of colonial rule and now of self-determination, the means by which they are achieving this end differs fundamentally.

For this reason the approach taken by the author seems advisable. The wide diversities of background, culture, and political experience predispose each to a particular attitude and behavior which precludes an exact and accurate delineation of them as a single unit. Too, events are happening so rapidly in this sector of the globe that the subject matter, now summarily screened, may shift so unpredictably in other directions as to influence basic understanding and demand new solutions. This kind of situation causes scholars to shift their "gears" and statesmen to "dance."

The logical presentation of Dr. King's argument follows this pattern. Why should America be interested in the affairs of Southeast Asia? What are the specific conditions in which American foreign policy must operate in this area? What has been the foreign policy of the United States in Southeast Asia up to now? And what light can our survey throw on the thorny road that lies ahead for our foreign policy? Underlining this book are these four questions, and their answers are stimulating and thought-provoking.

In a brief but challenging statement, Dr. King establishes the necessity for a strong and realistic recognition of Southeast Asia in American affairs. He places special emphasis on the geopolitical importance of this area. Though it is a political vacuum at present, the occupation of this area by a hostile force would literally separate the United States from the Asian complex and cut the world in half. American security and national self-interest can ill afford to have this vacuum filled by the Communists who stand perilously close to China and to the divided countries of Vietnam and Korea.

No political situation could be more difficult and sensitive to administer than one in which the disintegration caused by Western colonization has left an indelible imprint in the very heart of these countries. Fear and suspicion of motives hinder almost every effort from what might be called total success. This has been particularly true with regard to the program of economic assistance. Whether opposed to its present tendencies or to the spirit behind it, a fundamental requisite for the success of American foreign policy in this area, Dr. King further avers, is "the extent that it (the United States) may be willing to appreciate and work with indigenous institutions and forces which are developed."

The slow and painful recognition in America that the ends of Soviet policy are designed to aggravate and therefore weaken the potential power of its foes has caused military planners and policy makers to reassess their program to discover whether they have the right goals. Present military policy in this area has been described as a "deterrent" force backed by "massive retaliation." A healthy discussion of this question which is still puzzling the Pentagon and Congress is pursued. Dr. King's estimate, though short of a solution, suggests a strong argument for the maintenance of a flexible military program for the dual role of defending the sorely pressed South Korean and South Vietnamese governments in particular and the free world in general.

A well-balanced view of Southeast Asia and the United States has been achieved in this book. The author insists in his summing up that the United States must bring its foreign policy into a more realistic and harmonious relationship with the basic motives and main-springs of the Asian people. The interests of the United States in Southeast Asia are real and formidable in terms of security of its own people and in its stake in the development of stable, free governments in Asia. A policy of straightforward aims must be devised for this area in a manner that leaves no room for indecision or hesitation or ignorance.

This is a welcome addition to the study and appreciation of Southeast Asia which, by its very pregnancy of meaning, has caused it to be enigmatic to the Western mind.

# # #

BOOK REVIEW

Indonesian Society in Perspective. By W. F. Wertheim.
(The Hague: W. van Hoeve Ltd., 1956. 345 pp. Index.)

Maximo P. Fabella

The book has a unique approach to the study of Indonesian history. It is a socio-historical study. It aims to explain Indonesian society in terms of social change: competition between social strata; rural discontent; hunger; human bondage; class strife. The end is to understand what the author calls "present difficulties and seeming contradictions in Indonesia." Another purpose is to "demonstrate forces in Indonesia which have throughout their history expressed themselves in various and often veiled forms." In a word, the book gives the reader an insight into the often-neglected phase of social change, and a better understanding of Indonesian history in terms of social dynamics.

It covers a variety of topics in Indonesian history. Such topics as: social developments in South and Southeast Asia; general outline of Indonesian political history; shifts in the economic system; changing social status system; urban development; religious reform; changing pattern in labor relations; cultural dynamics; and nationalism.

The introductory portion of the book deals with "unity in diversity." Unity in diversity is "a desire to achieve national unity despite the heterogeneous character of the newly built state." The common will assumes the existence of common cultural heritage underlying the apparent heterogeneity. The author cites the factors for unity and diversity. The factors for unity are: common origin of the Indonesian languages; modern education; the *ladang* (shifting cultivation) and *sawah* (cultivated field) cultures found in most of the islands; the urban centers which he describes as a true dynamic island amidst preponderantly static societies; unity in religion. The factors for diversity are: geography and ethnic differences.

The book goes on to discuss the social development in South and Southeast Asia. The introduction of capitalism, particularly the money economy has caused a "disruption of Asian village life." The disruption in village life was caused by alienation of private property, money lending and absentee landlordism. Another social development was the "super-imposition" of whites (Dutch) on the native social stratum. Everywhere the whites had enormous prestige induced by political, technological, and military domination.

The next part discusses the shifts in the economic system. The pre-European economy was primarily agricultural, with supplemental hunting and fishing and food gathering. The Dutch encouraged agriculture especially with products which could be marketed in Europe...such as tea, coffee, sugar, coconut, etc. From the purely agricultural self-sufficient economy, there was the penetration of European goods and the introduction of money. The introduction of money overhauled the self-sufficient economy into an economy dependent upon foreign market. The culture system encouraged agriculture with the resultant increase in population of Java. The liberal period saw agrarian legislation to protect peasants. A later period saw the introduction of irrigation, education, promotion of popular credit facilities, expert agricultural advice, and the investment of foreigners in large-scale plantations.

The pre-European social status saw the existence of a native aristocracy and a solid peasant base. With the coming of the Dutch, they became the upper class, followed by the mestizos (*Indos*), the Chinese, and the *inlanders* (natives). The revolution reversed the pattern altogether. Indonesians, especially the intellectuals, became the upper class, followed by the Indo-Europeans, and at the lowest level the Chinese.

Urban development in Indonesia centered in the pre-European period, in the *kraton* of princes in the central states, and in the harbor principalities. The Dutch rule established an enlarged population on the *kraton* and in the commercial centers on the coast. There was also the urbanization of the population, and the growth of cities with its attendant slum problem.

The religious reform has to do with the secularization of Islam. The intellectuals follow an Islam modified by the needs of changing Indonesian society. Opposed to this group is the orthodox party of Islam which is best exemplified by the "Darul Islam" group which advocates a theocratic state.

Nationalism is a reaction of Indonesian society to Western penetration. At first it assumed escapist character in that both the nobility and the peasant masses tended to look back to the past. The nobility "resorted to flight into the legendary past," while the peasants to "flight into their rustic past," both closing ranks against the foreigner by strengthening their traditional bond. After a long discussion of nationalism, the author closes with an appraisal of the role it can play in future Indonesia in this wise: "Nationalism is still an important source of spiritual strength needed to build a new Indonesian society. Though the Indonesian people have already accomplished a revolution, their struggle was not final but rather a first step in the process of realization of their full potentialities as individuals and as a people. The Indonesians are only beginning to rediscover themselves and regain self-confidence. It is evident that in digging the past for the sources of their strength [they now attempt] to rewrite their history which has [heretofore] been mainly written as a colonial history by historians for whom Indonesia was generally no more than a picturesque scene."

The book is a fair and objective appraisal of Indonesian society from a scholarly viewpoint. Unlike other European authors who tend to depreciate achievements of colonial peoples, the author tries, and has succeeded, to present Indonesian society and Dutch policy fairly. The style of the author is easy to understand even for the average reader. As a contribution to history the book's value is in its sociological approach.

# # #

BOOKNOTES

By A. P. S.

Some of the most recent books and magazines on the Philippines are now available in the leading bookstores of Manila.

A DAY TO REMEMBER by Eliseo Quirino, brother of the late President Quirino, former professor of journalism in the U.P., executive secretary of the NEPA, and governor of Ilocos Sur, is also a book to remember. This is a most interesting and up-to-date account of the Japanese occupation. It brings to us vividly the war days when our people had to fight very hard to survive. "Even for the right to live one had to secure 'permission' from the High Command," says Anastacio R. Teodoro. "The interesting and informative story," he opines, "related by Mr. Eliseo Quirino about the events and incidents in his new book, 'A Day to Remember,' portrays quite fully what the Japanese poorly tried to build in the Philippines." This volume should be read by all Filipinos.

An enjoyable and gripping book dealing with the same period of Philippine history is *GIVE US THIS DAY* by Sidney Stewart. This volume is the basis of the popular movie under the same title. It is "the true story of the survivors of the Bataan death march." It should not be by-passed by anyone. Of it, a staff member of the *Chicago Tribune* said: "I have read scores of books that came out of World War II, but I have read none that took such a tremendous grip on my emotions, nor one that evoked so strikingly the horror of war. This is more than a book, finely written as it is—it is a living experience." The author of the book himself fought in Bataan and was a prisoner of war under the Japanese.

ALLIED INTELLIGENCE BUREAU is by Col. Allison Ind, co-organizer of the intelligence outfit under Gen. MacArthur which played a major role in the recapture of the Philippines in World War II. Almost one-half of the book contains the exploits and heroic deeds of Filipino commandos trained in California and Australia. "It is a tale of almost unendurable hardship and peril in lonely outposts deep in the jungles of New Guinea, New Britain, and the Philippines, where a few brave, dedicated men with a radio could turn the scales of battle. It is a record of unsung but incalculably effective heroism, a record without which the history of the Second World War would not be complete."

THE FILIPINO STRUGGLE FOR INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM by Leopoldo Y. Yabes, assistant head of the Department of English and Comparative Literature, U.P., is a timely book and should interest many readers at present, while the country is struggling for economic independence. In his preface, the author gives us an idea of the substance of his book in the following words: "The essays included in it, together with those in an earlier pamphlet, *THE UNIVERSITY AND THE FEAR OF IDEAS* (1956), represent my thinking, as a member of the faculty of the Univrsity and as a citizen of the Republic, on a number of topics related to Philippine life and thought."

RIZAL'S UNREAD LEGACY by Juan Collas is another book that should interest Filipino readers today in the heat of the present nationalism movement. This is a sequel to *RIZAL'S UNKNOWN WRITINGS* by the same author. It contains a chapter deleted by Rizal himself from his *NOLI ME TANGERE* dealing with Elias and his sweetheart, Salome; "Rizal's Letters to Father Pastells;" "Thoughts of a Filipino;" and "Tagalog Nobility."

Within the Rizal interest is *A CRITIQUE OF RIZAL'S CONCEPT OF A FILIPINO NATION* by Cesar A. Majul, professor of philosophy and political science, U.P. The author writes that his book "is actually the presentation of a theory that attempts to establish definite relations between Rizal's different works, and also between these and some of his actions. It also intends to make significant to the present day some of the things that he tried to accomplish and as such raise questions that do still present a challenge to our countrymen." Professor Majul is essentially and compellingly an idea-man, with a polished mind and well-bred personality, a colleague of his rightly evaluates.

RELIGION AND EDUCATION ON RIZAL by Isidoro Panlasigui, retired dean of the College of Education, University of the Philippines, is a contribution to the growing Rizaliana literature. The author discusses the social meaning of religion and education in the context of our times. By the same author is RIZAL'S BOYHOOD, which, although only partially biographical, contains the childhood achievements of the unfolding genius of what Rizal in mature years was to be. Dean Panlasigui is a Protestant with a characteristically unfettered Protestant liberalism in his views on social conditions of past and present history.

Now for the purely literary works. *DILIMAN ECHOES* is an anthology of poems written by undergraduate students of the University of the Philippines, edited by Alfonso P. Santos. The book is illustrated with line drawings and opens with a poem under a demanding title, "Unshell Me," by Ramon M. Afable. This piece moved the critics to call it "terrific." The collection contains eighty-nine poems on various things that interest undergraduate students, such as "First Love" and "The March of Legs."

Another book of poems is *KALEIDOSCOPIO ESPIRITUAL* by Evangelina E. Guerrero Zacarias, with an introduction and "Postfacio" by Antonio M. Abad, head of the Department of Spanish, U.P. This is a collection of tasteful personal lyrics. The author expresses herself subjectively like Mrs. Browning.

Just off the press is *LA VIA (A SPIRITUAL JOURNEY)* by Ricaredo Demetillo. This is a book of poems comprising three parts, namely, "Dissonances," "Not There, Not There," and "Harmonies," whose aim is explained by the author in the following quotation: "The view of life these poems set forth is naturally critical of institutional Christianity which, to my mind, inextricably shares in the death drives of thinkers such as Paul, Augustine, Calvin, Luther, and various ascetic groups whose fear of sex, to which they were morbidly tantalized, was less than serene and, therefore, a source of harmfulness. The view here presented, not as a dialectically reasoned out system but as poetic vision, involves the recovery of the Greek ideal of harmony. It is a fearless affirmation of life. Ultimately, what these poems celebrate is the way of alignment with the creative energies of life. That this alignment is sacramental, there is no need to emphasize. Life, more life, a larger, richer, more satisfying life, is the true end of men."

DIWATA is the first novel written by Magdalena B. Bautista, a most welcome addition to Philippine literature. It is the story of a barrio girl, who goes to the city and, with her determination to succeed, overcomes poverty, acquires a college education, establishes a home for her widowed mother, writes a successful novel, becomes a congresswoman, and marries a man who fits into her ideal. The book is very interesting. It contains humor and pathos; its story line is clear.

SPAN is an international anthology containing poems and stories of authors from Australia, Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Malaya, North Borneo, Pakistan, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam. It is "an adventure in Asian and Australian writing" edited for the Canberra Fellowship of Australian writers by Lionel Wigmore. The Filipino authors in the volume are Ricardo Demetillo, N.V.M. Gonzalez, Nick Joaquin, F. Sionil Jose, Alejandro R. Roces, Bienvenido N. Santos, Edith Tiempo, and Jose Garcia Villa.

The Golden Jubilee number of *THE DILIMAN REVIEW* is a rewarding book to read. It is just out of the press with informative and interesting articles by Dr. Vicente G. Sinco, Dr. Amado Dalisay, Senator Lorenzo Sumulong, Dr. Ricardo R. Pascual, Prof. Teodoro A. Agoncillo, Prof. Leopoldo Y. Yabes, Dr. Tomas S. Fonacier, Dr. Pedro L. Baldoria, Dr. Agustin Rodolfo, and many others including foreign writers.

And of course, the Golden Jubilee issue also of the *NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCE BULLETIN* is equally rewarding. Here are valuable articles by Dr. Justo de la Paz, Dr. Severino R. Hermosura, Prof. Francisco Nemenzo, Dr. Lucia Manikis, Dr. Lilly Gomez and Miss Cynthia San Juan, Dr. Adelaida M. Bendaña-Brown, Dr. Chio-Shih Lin, Dr. Raymundo Favila, and others.

# # #

ACADEMIC NEWS

A chapter of the Philippine Historical Association was recently organized at National University, Manila. The induction of officers was solemnized by PHA President Gabriel F. Fabella on February 28, 1959, followed by a lecture-forum on "Rizal's Filipinism" and the "Katipunan." Professor Fabella delivered the lecture, and the open forum that followed it was reported "intense" and "eager."

The officers of the new chapter are: president, Victor Javier; vice-presidents, Pedro Banda and Pedro Tapiru; secretaries, Adoracion Villasin and Juliana Rivera; treasurers, Aquino Siena and Nene Deseo; press relations officers, Luis Cervantes and Rogelio Santos; business managers, Fe Jacobo and Cristina Mendoza; auditor, Rito Saquing.

It was through the initiative of Professors Laus, Escasa, and Gomez of National University that student interest in the Philippine Historical Association was aroused. For the first time in a nonsectarian university the study and writing of Philippine history are given new impetus with the surge of Philippine nationalism.

Professor Nicolas Zafra, last year's President of the Philippine Historical Association, is completing "A Concise History of the Philippines," written at the request of Djambatan Ltd. of the Netherlands, for inclusion in a compilation of the histories of countries in Southeast Asia.

The transcription from microfilm and the translation into English of Volumes I and II (comprising the issues for 1889 and 1890) of *La Solidaridad* have been undertaken and finished by Dr. Guadalupe Forés-Ganzon of the U.P. Department of History. The work will be ready for publication in the Golden Jubilee issue of the *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review.*

Mrs. Silvina C. Laya, member of the Board of Governors of the Philippine Historical Association and supervisor of the social sciences of the Manila City Schools, is on a UNESCO educational survey-tour of Europe and the United States. She left Manila in March and is expected back in June.

Dean Tomas S. Fonacier, College of Liberal Arts, University of the Philippines, was the main guest and speaker of the Iloilo College, U.P., at the annual alumni homecoming in Iloilo City on March 29. Dean Fonacier was the organizer of U.P.'s Iloilo College shortly after the war.

Professor Teodoro A. Agoncillo of the Department of History, U.P., having finished the first five chapters of his work on the second stage of the Philippine Revolution (a sequel to his *The Revolt of the Masses*), is writing the remaining chapters and the conclusion-evaluation. His two new books on Rizal, carefully graded to fit elementary school level, have been approved recently as textbooks in the Philippine Public Schools.

A Critique of Rizal's Concept of a Filipino Nation, the latest published work of Professor Cesar Adib Majul of the U.P. Department of Philosophy, interprets Rizal's concept of the Filipino national community on the basis of the hero's works and articles, and the Constitution of the *Liga Filipina.*

Dr. Encarnacion Alzona, for two years editor of the *Buletin ng Kapisanang Pangkasaysayan ng Pilipinas,* old name for *Historical Bulletin* of the PHA, has been elected to head the recently formed *Kapisanan ng Kababaihang Maka-Rizal.*

The origin and history of San Lazaro Hospital are traced by Professor Josefa M. Saniel of the U.P. Department of History, U.P., in an article in the Golden Jubilee issue of the *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review.*

The Japanese colony in Davao from 1904 to 1941 is the subject of an investigative article in the Golden Jubilee issue of the *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review* by Serafin D. Quiason of the U.P. History Department.

Oscar M. Alfonso of the Department of History, U.P., inquires into the question of whether or not Ferdinand Magellan circumnavigated the globe, in an article in the Golden Jubilee issue of the *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review,* which is expected to be available next month.

The long career of Manuel L. Quezon, which culminated in the passage of the Jones Bill in 1916, is recounted by the U.P. History Department's Napoleon J. Casambre in an article in the Golden Jubilee issue of the *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review.*

Off for Singapore this month is Mr. Wu Ching-Hong, candidate for the Ph.D. degree in the University of the Philippines and formerly connected with the Museum and Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, who has been appointed as associate professor of history and geography, and secretary of the College of Liberal Arts, in Nanyang University.

# # #

MINUTES OF THE 1ST JOINT MEETING OF THE PHA NEW BOARD OF GOVERNORS AND BOARD OF EDITORS, 11 JANUARY 1959, AT THE LAYA RESIDENCE, 9 PANAY AVENUE, QUEZON CITY.

BOARD OF GOVERNORS

Present

Celedonio A. Ancheta
Gabriel F. Fabella (President)
Emiliano L. Laus
Esteban A. de Ocampo
Silvina C. Laya
Jorge L. Revilla (Secretary)
Leopoldo R. Serrano
Nicolas Zafra (Ex-officio)

Absent

Digno Alba
Encarnacion Alzona
Horacio de la Costa, S.J.
Ricardo R. Pascual

BOARD OF EDITORS

Present

Teodoro A. Agoncillo
Oscar M. Alfonso
Rex D. Drilon (Editor-in-Chief)

Absent

G. Fores-Ganzon
Cesar A. Majul
Dalmacio Martin
Alfredo T. Morales

Business Manager

Maximo P. Fabella (present)

The Meeting was convened at 3:15 p.m.

I. Induction of the officers and board of editors for 1959 by the outgoing president, Nicolas Zafra.

II. Official announcement by President G. Fabella of the members of the Board of Editors consisting of the following:

Rex. D. Drilon, Editor-in-chief
Teodoro A. Agoncillo
Oscar M. Alfonso
Guadalupe F. Ganzon
Cesar A. Majul
Dalmacio Martin
Alfredo T. Morales
Maximo P. Fabella, Business Manager

III. It was moved and seconded that a change of name of the quarterly magazine be made, from *Buletin ng Kapisanang Pangkasaysayan ng Pilipinas* (Tagalog) to *Historical Bulletin* (English). Approved.

IV. It was moved and seconded that the Board of Editors be given maximum freedom in managing the affairs of the *Bulletin* by continuing its non-sectarian, non-partisan policy.

V. A resolution was passed unanimously, expressing gratitude to Dr. Encarnacion Alzona for meritorious service as editor-in-chief for two years and awarding her a certificate of appreciation.

VI. Appointment was made of the following committee in charge of the Southeast Asia Historical Convention to be sponsored by the Association.

Nicolas Zafra	Chairman
Esteban de Ocampo	Vice-Chairman
Mrs. Silvina Laya	" "
David Wico	" "
Jorge L. Revilla	Member
Oscar M. Alfonso	"
Serafin Quiason	"
Gregorio Patacsil	"
Benito Padilla	"
Donata V. Taylo	"
Adoracion Ambrosio	"
Napoleon J. Casambre	"
Pedro Vergara	"

VII. The appointment of Alfonso Santos as Public Relations Officer was announced.

VIII. It was moved and seconded that a panel be created to publish selected sermons of Padre José Burgos. The following persons were tentatively selected to do the work of translation:

Horacio de la Costa, S.J.
Encarnacion Alzona
Guadalupe F. Ganzon

IX. It was moved and seconded that a banner for the Association be made. Mrs. Silvina Laya was assigned to select the color and determine the size and cost, with C. Ancheta and E. Laus as members. Approved.

X. It was moved and seconded that additional copies of the biographies of Jacinto, Bonifacio, Del Pilar, and Aguinaldo be mimeographed. Approved.

XI. Treasurer Serrano reported that there is enough money to cover payment for the bust of Aguinaldo and for the March issue of the *Historical Bulletin*.

XII. It was moved and seconded that the March issue of the *Historical Bulletin* be made a special Aguinaldo number. Approved.

XIII. It was moved and seconded that members of the Board of Governors be authorized to organize chapters of the Association. Approved.

XIV. A tentative list of activities for the year 1959 was approved, as follows:

A. Southeast Asia Historical Convention.

B. 90th birthday celebration of Aguinaldo, with Esteban de Ocampo and Leopoldo Serrano in charge.

C. Excursion to Biak-na-bato, Bulacan, sometime in May or June, with Jorge Revilla in charge.

D. "Independence Day" (June 12), with Esteban de Ocampo in charge.

E. Excursion to Barosoain Church, Malolos.

F. Monthly meetings set:

February 15	E. Laus Residence, Q.C.
March 15	G. Fabella Residence, Q.C.
April 12	C. Ancheta Residence, Q.C.
May	De Ocampo Residence, Q.C.
June	J. Revilla Residence, Manila
July	L. Serrano Residence, Q.C.

Meeting was adjourned at 5:45 p.m.

Submitted: JORGE L. REVILLA
Secretary

Approved: GABRIEL F. FABELLA
President

MINUTES OF THE 2ND JOINT MEETING OF THE PHA BOARD OF GOVERNORS AND BOARD OF EDITORS, 15 FEBRUARY 1959, AT THE LAUS RESIDENCE, 40 E. ABADA, LOYOLA HEIGHTS, QUEZON CITY.

BOARD OF GOVERNORS

Present
Digno Alba
Celedonio A. Ancheta
Horacio de la Costa, S.J.
Gabriel F. Fabella (President)
Emiliano L. Laus
Silvina C. Laya
Esteban A. de Ocampo
Ricardo R. Pascual
Jorge L. Revilla
Leopoldo R. Serrano
Nicolas Zafra

Absent
Encarnacion Alzona

BOARD OF EDITORS

Present
Oscar M. Alfonso
Rex D. Drilon (Editor-in-Chief)
Cesar A. Majul
Alfredo T. Morales

Absent
Teodoro A. Agoncillo
G. Fores-Ganzon
Dalmacio Martin

Business Manager
Maximo P. Fabella (present)

The meeting was convened at 4 p.m., with Professor Gabriel F. Fabella, as President of the Association, presiding.

I. Report of Professor Esteban A. de Ocampo, chairman of the Aguinaldo 90th Birthday Celebration. General Aguinaldo is ill. If he gets well, he will be in his home in Kawit, Cavite, otherwise he will be either in the hospital or at the home of former Senator Ramon Fernandez at Parañaque. He will be awarded a Certificate of Membership in the Association and presented with a memorial bust statue on March 22, his day of birth.

II. On the eve of General Aguinaldo's birthday anniversary, an hour-long radio program will discuss the theme, "Role of Aguinaldo in Philippine Nationalism." Panel—Dean Ricardo R. Pascual, chairman and moderator; Professors Nicolas Zafra, Cesar A. Majul, Gabriel F. Fabella, Fr. Horacio de la Costa, members.

III. Report of Mrs. Silvina C. Laya, chairman of the Committee on the PHA Banner. Various designs, sizes, and prices were discussed. It was moved, seconded, and approved that the size be 20 by 30 inches vertical, dark blue background, with light color lettering.

IV. Mrs. Laya donated to the PHA governors, editors, and other officers past copies, cloth bound, of the *Buletin* (under the old name). A vote of thanks was taken and an appropriate resolution of gratitude was approved.

V. Report of Professor Rex D. Drilon, editor-in-chief of the *Historical Bulletin,* which is the new name of the magazine in lieu of the old name, *Buletin Ng Kapisanang Pangkasaysayan Ng Pilipinas.* Various samples in color (courtesy of Kayumanggi Press) of the new design and format were shown. It was moved, seconded, and approved that the dark-blue color of the new design be suggested to the Board of Editors for adoption. Editor Drilon strongly appealed to the Board of Governors to formulate broad, liberal policies for the magazine and allow the Editors freedom of action within the framework of such policies. Deadline for submission of articles for the March number, which is an "Aguinaldo number," is February 15.

VI. Report of Professor Digno Alba, chairman of the Finance Committee. Professor Alba presented a plan to raise funds for the PHA. He suggested that the PHA petition the President of the Philippines to divert a designated amount of funds from the Charity Sweepstakes for the rehabilitation of the National Archives, National Library, historical monuments, and the encouragement of research on the history of the provinces. In conjunction with the Alba Plan, President Fabella of the PHA announced the creation of an implementing Board of Trustees, with membership distribution as follows:

5 trustees from the PHA, 5 trustees from the Philippine National Historical Society, and 5 trustees to represent civic organizations.

VII. Report on the formation of local chapters of the PHA. Professor Emiliano L. Laus announced that 100 students, majoring in history and political science and minoring in history, have organized a chapter at National University. After the Laus report, it was decided that Six Pesos be charged for all kinds of membership in the National University chapter. Such membership carries the right to vote at PHA annual elections and to receive the quarterly *Historical Bulletin.*

VIII. Financial report of the treasurer. Professor Leopoldo R. Serrano, treasurer, reported that, as of February 14, 1959, the PHA financial standing is as follows: ₱1,800 cash on hand. This excludes the amount under the category of "collectibles." The annual government subsidy of ₱10,000 to the PHA is

IX. PHA President Fabella presented the budget for 1959 which was now ready at the General Auditing Office.

approved:

INCOME:

a. Government annual subsidy	₱9,000.00
b. Annual dues of 150 members at ₱6 each	900.00
	₱9,900.00

EXPENSES:

a. Four issues of the *Historical Bulletin* at ₱1500 per issue	₱6,000.00
b. Honorarium of the editor-in-chief at ₱100 per issue	400.00
c. Allowance of business manager at ₱100 a mo.	1,200.00
d. Miscellaneous expenses	400.00
e. Publication of a rare or qualitative book	1,000.00
f. Savings	900.00
	₱9,900,00

x Suggestions. It was suggested by Professor Esteban A. de Ocampo that the PHA Secretary send letters of request to all private and public schools teaching history courses and cognate courses to induce them to be members of the PHA by giving them back issues of the *Bulletin.*

A resolution was unanimously approved, conveying to Professor and Mrs. Emiliano L. Laus heartful thanks for the *merienda cena.*

Submitted: JORGE L. REVILLA
Secretary

Approved: GABRIEL F. FABELLA
President

# # #

THE KNIGHTS OF RIZAL
LIBRARY

Ambeth Ocampo

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

SERGIO OSMENA SR., former President of the Philippine Commonwealth. One of the greatest living Filipinos. He wrote his article from Hongkong where, incognito, he was vacationing briefly.

TEODORO A. AGONCILLO, author, Professor of History, University of the Philippines.

CESAR ADIB MAJUL, author, Assistant Head of the Department of Philosophy and a member of the Department of Political Science, University of the Philippines.

HONESTO A. VILLANUEVA, Assistant Professor of History, has written a number of significant monographs on Philippine-American relations.

EMILIANO L. LAUS is on the staff of the Departments of History and Political Science, National University, Manila.

CARMEN AGUINALDO-MELENCIO, is a daughter of General Aguinaldo and wife of the late Minister Jose P. Melencio.

LEOPOLDO R. SERRANO won the first-prize award for the **History of Caloocan** and is currently a member of the research panel of the Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission.

ALFONSO P. SANTOS is Assistant Professor of English, University of the Philippines. He has published a number of books of poems.

EMILIO P. VIRATA was once a member of the Philippine Legislature and is a respected practising attorney in General Trias in Cavite, and Manila.

SERAFIN D. QUIAZON, NAPOLEON D. CASAMBRE, and **ISAGANI MEDINA** are serious, promising young men at the University of the Philippines.

WILLIAM W. ALLISON is an American graduate student in political science, University of the Philippines.

MAXIMO P. FABELLA is a graduate student in history, University of the Philippines.

BETH OCAMPO

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